

# IN THESE TIMES

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Dec. 13-19, 1978

50 Cents

Photo by Matthew Naythons

# HEAVEN



# AND



# HELL ARE THE

# SAME PLACE



Moberg Reports  
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# THE INSIDE STORY

Guest Column by Jim & Eva Cockcroft



Dr. Karim Sanjabi

## A report on Iran's democratic opposition

The Shah's opposition in Iran is neither reactionary nor communist-inspired. Uniting almost all classes in its call for "democracy and independence," it is a nationalist political movement with a religious character. It is neither anti-modern nor anti-secular. Both its leadership and rank-and-file resent American support for the Shah, but welcome future economic relations with the West once Iran is free and independent.

"The popular struggle here is against dictatorship and corruption," Dr. Karim Sanjabi, titular head of the National Front, told us. "For 25 years there has been no freedom to assemble or to organize, even for National Front parties. Our moves to nationalize oil under Mossadegh have earned the National Front the trust and support of the people." Mohammed Mossadegh, Prime Minister from 1950 to 1953, was removed in a CIA-backed coup which returned the Shah to power.

Dr. Sanjabi explained that the three moderate democratic parties (Iran Party, Iranian Nation Party, Socialist League) which, along with various labor unions and prominent individuals, make up the National Front share the same political goals as the clergy, who lead much of the mass opposition, especially in the rural areas. "The Shi'i religion," Sanjabi stated, "is not fanatic. Its aims and ours are the same."

### Newspaper strikes.

When we asked Dr. Sanjabi about communist influences, he told us that the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party, outlawed by the Shah, was resented for its failure to fully back Mossadegh and was viewed as loyal to a foreign power. "The American people," Sanjabi said, "must understand our struggle is not related to communism; nor can the communists take advantage of it."

After his return from consultations with exiled religious leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in Paris, Dr. Sanjabi was arrested, Nov. 11. Also detained was chief National Front spokesman Darioush Forouhar, whom we had interviewed in downtown Tehran. Forouhar is leader of Mossadegh's Iranian Nation Party.

Forouhar expressed the opposition view on the Shah's "modernization" program. "Why does the Shah not permit the progress of Iran to be decided by the people? And what is this progress the Shah has promoted? Iran is no longer self-sufficient in food production, importing 90 percent of its food. There is no true industrialization, but merely assembly plants."

Our interview with Forouhar was interrupted by the

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stormy arrival of two journalists from the pro-government daily *Kayhan*. "We have just gone on strike!" they exclaimed, marking the first press strike in the Pahlavi dynasty's history. The main demand was an end to censorship, partially lifted a few days later. But on Nov. 6 the military closed Tehran's newspapers, arrested many journalists as they arrived at work, and re-imposed total censorship over all the mass media. Journalists refused to work after that.

### Islamic government.

The general-strike movement, which began with economic demands in September, became almost completely political by the time of our departure. It has generated a massive labor-union movement, where before there existed only the Shah's "official" unions. The strikers, who include most government employees and workers in every major industry, are demanding the release of political prisoners, an end to martial law, dissolution of SAVAK (secret police), trials of those accused of corruption, expulsion of foreign workers, and introduction of a democratic government.

On Nov. 13, the oil-strike leadership was arrested and some of the strikers were forced back to work at gunpoint. Work slowdowns were introduced, and on Nov. 26 another general strike was declared, in open defiance of the new military regime.

In the holy city of Qom we spoke with Ayatollah Pasandideh, the brother of Khomeini. Khomeini, highest-ranking leader of Shi'i Muslims, was jailed and later exiled in 1963 for opposing the Shah's grant of judicial immunity to Americans and acceptance of a loan to buy American arms. Khomeini's anti-imperialism and long campaign to topple the Shah have helped make him the most popular figure among Iranians today.

Pasandideh, released from prison only four months earlier, explained Khomeini's views on women. Under Islamic law, women have equal rights with men. For example, they receive equal pay for equal work. "We do not want women to stay at home," Pasandideh said.

Forty-three years ago Reza Shah (the Shah's father) sent his soldiers into the streets to strip women of the ankle-length "chador," or veil. Today, university students in slacks uphold the political tradition of wearing the veil to demonstrations as an act of protest. None of them seems to think that Khomeini's movement intends to put them back under the veil.

We asked Khomeini's brother what was meant by "Islamic government." We were told that Shi'i Islam, followed by 93 percent of Iran's 37 million people, morally obligates its believers to engage in political activism for social change. "The Ayatollah," Pasandideh said, "wants a democratic government with political freedom for all groups." Khomeini has often said he does not intend to take a leadership role in a new government.

We asked the same question about "Islamic government" of Shariat-Madari, generally considered the leading Shi'i Ayatollah resident in Iran. "We do not want religious leaders in government," Shariat-Madari pointed out, "quite the contrary. Under Islamic law, there cannot be a dictatorship by a person or by a group of persons. We want a system of government of the people over the people."

Then, with a gentle smile and bowing his turbaned head, Shariat-Madari delivered us a lengthy sermon on Islam's commitment to social justice and "the division of the wealth between the people." He said the future democratic government would guarantee the freedom of all religions and protect all foreigners who "respect Iranian law and do not betray Iranian interests or intervene in Iran's internal affairs." Lifting his head, he added, "We could work better with the West."

Many intellectuals, students, teachers and growing

numbers of industrial workers advocate a Marxian socialist, anti-imperialist program (as distinct from any bourgeois-nationalist tendencies in the democratic opposition's approach). Although the two ideologies of Islam and Marxism are incompatible, we were struck by certain similarities in aims.

Both demand an end to corruption and imperialist intervention of any kind, and both seek a more equal distribution of wealth. This is one reason why so many non-Tudeh but Marxist-oriented young people are willing to follow the lead of Khomeini. Another reason is that a large number of younger Iranians are under the inspirational influence of the late Shariati, a Western-educated Shi'i clergyman and teacher who taught the message of revolutionary Islamic socialism (comparable to some currents of "Christian socialism" in the West).

Small armed guerilla groups, both Marxist and Islamic, most of whose members have sought to link up closely with the public demonstrations of the past year, renewed their activity in late October, choosing only targets the local populace was known to detest. On Oct. 31, for example, the military commander of Tabriz was shot, and various particularly sadistic heads of local police have been killed recently.

### U.S. fears exaggerated.

U.S. fears of Soviet influence or of losing a key source of oil are exaggerated and will develop a genuine foundation only if President Carter continues to back the Shah or his generals. Such support will likely intensify armed attacks against Americans, of whom there are 45,000 in Iran—mostly military and paramilitary advisers and technicians, many in the employ of American corporations. Since 1970, America has sold Iran over \$18 billion worth of weapons.

On oil, opposition leaders' complaints do not concern sales but rather the uses to which the oil revenues are put. A future democratic government in Iran will have to sell its oil to carry out its promises of investments in agrarian reform, education and industrialization. In the meantime, oil production will not fully recover so long as the opposition maintains work slowdowns and strike activities.

Iran's united opposition resembles a mosaic of loosely linked coalitions, incorporating large segments of almost all social classes, whose differences can find open expression only in a democratic framework. The National Front draws its followers from professional and para-professional groups, intellectuals, students, bureaucrats, occasional labor unions or workers' organizations, and the tiny national bourgeoisie, particularly small and medium businesses.

Followers of Khomeini and the religious leaders come mainly from the peasantry (still 50 percent of the population), the urban poor, the working class, students, and the "bazaari," who still account for most of Iran's internal marketing, as well as key sectors of external trade (for instance, carpets).

This opposition is presently spearheading a gigantic revolutionary upheaval that threatens not only the militaristic regime of the Shah but some of the vested interests of Iran's traditional comprador bourgeoisie and its corporate allies in the world of big industry, arms trade, and high finance abroad. It is the revolutionary character of the political opposition, rather than its allegedly "conservative" religious character, that most threatens the big monied interests of Iran and the West. *Jim and Eva Cockcroft recently returned from a two-week visit to Iran, Oct. 8-22, as members of the U.S. delegation on the International Commissions of Inquiry invited to Iran by the Jurists Committee, Iran's official lawyers guild. The Commission's reports are available from: USPCI, Box 7782, Philadelphia, Pa. 19101.*

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# IN THE NATION

## TEAMSTERS

# TDU sweeps Flint, Mich., election

By Tom Young

**T**HE TEAMSTERS FOR A DEMOCRATIC UNION (TDU) have won an important victory in Flint, Mich. In late November the insurgent slate carried all seven elected offices of local 332, defeating the incumbents by approximately two to one. The election was fought primarily over local issues that are common throughout the Teamsters union.

Between one-quarter and one-third of all Teamster locals hold local elections this year, many in November and December. In October, a TDU candidate, Jack Farrell, was elected president of an Oklahoma City local, and earlier this year TDU supporters won elections in several other cities, including Green Bay, Wisc. Still to come are election challenges in several Pennsylvania locals, a Detroit construction drivers local and a St. Louis car-haulers local.

Ken Paff, TDU national organizer, sees the elections as reflecting TDU's activities in opposition to the 1976 nationwide Master Freight Agreement and for democratic local by-laws. "It takes a while for us to build credibility," he said. "Over a period of time, people see who are the ones standing up for democracy, and on the contracts, too."

TDU has campaigned strenuously for reform of local by-laws. They have worked for greater membership participation in running locals' affairs through the election of stewards and business agents and the reform of local election procedure. They have also demanded rank-and-file ratification of agreements.

Under the International's constitution, a two-thirds vote is required to adopt local by-laws. As a result, incumbents need only round up a third to block changes that threaten them. "We tell these local officers, 'Hey, you can beat us on these local by-laws, but the members will remember next election, and it only takes a



*This is the leaflet put out by the administration of Teamster local 332. It didn't work. The Teamsters for a Democratic Union won all offices up for election.*

majority to win an election," said Paff.

Paff charges that many election dates were moved forward in an attempt to catch opponents off-guard. "It requires the permission of [International General President Frank] Fitzsimmons to do so, but needless to say, Fitzsimmons did so."

With a membership of approximately 4,100, local 332 in Flint primarily represents car haulers and freight drivers, but it is also a general local with beverage workers, small factories and 250 registered

nurses at a local hospital.

The TDU chapter in local 332 was formed in July 1976 when 21 car haulers were fired for job action. Car haulers were not represented on the local's executive board, although they make up one-third of the local's membership. (In the 1978 election, the incumbents dropped two members from their slate to create slots for car haulers.)

Richard Sebastian, a freight driver for 14 years and TDU's winning candidate

for secretary-treasurer, became involved in the organization early in 1977. TDU proposed changes in the local's by-laws to allow the election of business agents and other reforms. "A lot of people were having a lot of problems, and representation was very poor," said Sebastian. "We felt that if the business agents were elected they would get out and do their job more."

In December 1977, TDU succeeded in winning the election of stewards, but the situation is still vague. "The barns themselves have to put the pressure on. Otherwise, they'll appoint someone and he'll stay there for X-number of years," Sebastian said.

TDU's other main goal, election of business agents, was frustrated by the incumbent officers in 1978. By-law changes must be read twice to the membership meeting and then voted on. Local 332's officers delayed the completion of this process until February, then in March produced a letter from Fitzsimmons approving a number of changes adopted in January. One of these changes barred any future by-law revision except once a year in January, nullifying TDU's February efforts.

Under the IBT constitution, by-law changes affecting officers may not go into effect during the term in which they are adopted. TDU hopes to have election of business agents approved in January, but even if they do, the elections won't be held until fall 1981.

TDU's local 332 election slate was headed by Sebastian for secretary-treasurer and Fred Pilinyi, a car hauler for 35 years, for president. The election was conducted by the incumbents, although challengers were represented on the election committee. Sebastian had no complaints of irregularities. "They knew that we knew the laws, and they couldn't put it to us," he said.

The incumbents' campaign featured a flyer sent to every member showing a bright red octopus with a tentacle embracing each member of the TDU slate. Additionally, Flint's police force, which is represented by another Teamster local, and Joe Petrella, chief steward of the

*Continued on page 6.*

## "Let's do it," insurgent unionists cry

By Tom Johnson

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

*All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men and women do nothing.*

—TRT motto

**J**AY GROTENHUIS HAULS FUEL for a living. The 30-year Teamster constantly worries about the safety of his rig and its volatile payload. But he does not lack courage. You know that when he talks of fear:

"The workers in this union are scared," he says. They are afraid of speaking up in meetings, afraid of the leadership. If I have to be scared when I belong to a union, I may as well just go and get a withdrawal card. Either that or try to change the damn thing."

In an effort to "change the damn thing" Grotenhuis ran as secretary-treasurer on the Teamster Reform Team slate, which challenged the incumbent leadership of the 8600-member Grand Rapids Teamster Local #406. The incumbents defeated the TRT two to one on Nov. 18.

Grotenhuis spoke from the TRT headquarters on Chicago Drive before the ballots were counted. Chicago Drive is a truckers' drag that cuts through the southwest side of Grand Rapids and the suburbs of Wyoming, Grandville and Jenison. Trucking companies, warehouses, steel fabrication and concrete plants, gas sta-

tions and the like line much of the Drive.

The pock-marked pavement, wrecked by overloaded semis, stained by spilled diesel, made slippery from oil slicks, features the roar of a 32-wheeler grinding 15 gears forward as background music.

The bright block letters of the words "Let's do it!" roared also from the TRT headquarters. The Drive is not a world of soft-sell or subtlety. So when you enter the storefront, you prepare for straight talk. No bullshit. You are not disappointed.

"This guy is a free-lance writer and construction worker. He wants to write a story about us to make some money," John "Bud" Houghtaling announces. Houghtaling, 28 years a Teamster, runs on the CB handle of "Cowboy." Actually, with his goatee he looks more like a jazzman. A very large, tough jazzman. An active member of the Professional Drivers Council (PROD), he was a TRT candidate for trustee.

He introduces you around.

Doug Stroosnyder (21 years), candidate for president, boils coffee while making small talk with veep-hopeful Don Smith. They bandy jokes about Stroosnyder's unsuccessful hunt for the *Big Buck*. Julie Nicloy, (9 years) talks quietly of her stewardship at a small shop with 19 workers. Later, Chet Miles (13 years) and Vic Rekus (32 years), both candidates for trustee, join the group.

Posters cover most of the walls. The largest is a huge red-white-black sheet

that covers half a wall like a grocery-store advertisement. It describes the makeup of the Western Michigan Industrial Board. The WMIB is a creation of union and industry leaders. It is supposed to hear grievances filed by Teamster members or their employers. Each member company must pay \$350 to join and each grievance costs \$35.

Most contracts under Local 406 jurisdiction stipulate that the secretary-treasurer or the executive board can veto any member's grievance. If a charge does get heard, the employer may appeal to arbitration. The worker may not.

The board is a graveyard for grievances. Coincidentally, one of the employer representatives, David Fowler, ran the election campaign of Robert Barnette in 1975. Barnette is secretary-treasurer of Teamster Local #406. No members or officers of 406 sit on the WMIB.

**A say in the union.**

"Yeah, so that's what we're about," Bud Houghtaling says with a shake of his head. "Giving dues-paying members a say in their own union."

"Hell, we don't need outsiders telling us what to do."

"We did have some success in our company," Julie Nicloy interjects. "We were able to negotiate language so that the executive board and secretary-treasurer

*Continued on page 6.*



## MINNESOTA

## Power line protesters persevere



By Vicki Lofquist

**T**HE COMPLETION OF THE UNDERWOOD, N.D., to Delano, Minn., high voltage power line hasn't meant the end of protests. On Oct. 29, 20 people were arrested after a rally near the Delano conversion station—southern point of an 800 KV dc power line constructed across western Minnesota. Two weeks later, 19 people were found innocent of trespass charges by a jury trial in Buffalo, Minn. (The 20th was a 13-year-old boy whose case goes to juvenile court.) The defense put the power line on trial.

The crowd of 300 had walked down a road towards the massive hardware of the conversion station where they planned to chain a "condemned" sign and to place a cardboard windmill. The road was blocked by a line of deputy sheriffs that the 20 people walked past and were arrested.

Bail, set at \$500 to \$1000 each was lowered to \$300 after a hunger strike began in protest. Ten who remained in jail fasted until the trial began nine days later.

Dean Reed, a popular singer in South America, Eastern Europe and Russia, was among those in jail. Prior to the arrest, he was in Minneapolis to visit friends and to promote a film on Victor Jara. Reed's arrest solved the problem of how to get international media coverage of a trespass charge.

"Dean Reed is very popular in Russia, especially among young people," said Vladimir Reshetilov, the Tass correspondent who was at the trial in Buffalo. "The first news in Moscow about this trial stirred a lot of agitation among Soviet fans."

While much of the media coverage of the Buffalo trial focused on Dean Reed and his ties with the socialist world, the fight against the power line is not a cold war story.

"We have a petition being passed among the farmers and everyone's signing it," said Alice Tripp, a leader in the fight against the power line. Tripp got 20 percent of the vote for governor in the DFL primary.

"Brian Coyle (a defendant) said it very well. He said they're being arrested because the farmers can't be," Tripp said. "The farmers are busy with their harvest and are deep into legal problems handling the arrests from last winter."

The fight against the power line has also planted the seeds of a surprising alliance between the farmers and the American Indian Movement.

"The farmers today are the Indian people," said AIM leader Clyde Bellecourt at the rally preceding the arrests. "I know the farmers have the same reverence for the land as we native people. That it's our mother and she is sacred and we can't let them dig her or rape her."

The farmers have also shown support for Native American struggles. Dairy farmer Gloria Woida, another leader in the power line fight, recently spoke at a rally for Russell Means at the South Dakota State Penitentiary.

The alliances formed through the fight against the power line have crossed both ideological and geographical boundaries.

## The 800 KV dc line from North Dakota to Delano, Minn., is completed, but farmers and others keep up a guerilla war against it.

twenty-three states were represented at a recent environmental conference in Glenwood hosted by the farmers. There were workshops on power lines, power plants, pipe lines, and strip mining.

Many risks have been taken in the Minnesota struggle for control of energy development. The recent trial in Buffalo brings the number of arrests related to power line activity to 160. Thirty-two felony charges have been brought against people with 30 of these cases still pending. Two people pled guilty to lesser charges and were given a year probation. The power companies have brought eight law suits against different farmers ranging from \$50,000 to \$500,000. Two were dropped and the rest are pending.

There have been five jury trials on misdemeanor charges resulting in 35 acquittals and three convictions. No one has gone to jail as a result of being convicted.

Two factors in the court successes are a legal defense team patterned after that created for the Wounded Knee trials and the services of the National Jury project, which aids in jury selection.

Another factor in the Buffalo trial was

that 11 defendants gave closing statements to the jury in addition to being represented by attorney Ken Tilsen. The prosecution presented a simple case—those arrested were on land marked "Private Property, No Trespassing," they were told to leave and they didn't. The defense presented the case against the power line.

"The utilities are trespassing on our health, land, and pocketbooks," defendant Wanda Moyer told the jury. "The land we were on wasn't private land, but was taken by eminent domain, the divine right of corporations," argued Fluffy Golod. Dean Reed argued that human rights of farmers was the issue of the trial.

Attorney Ken Tilsen argued that power companies don't have the same rights as private citizens over their property and that the defendants had a first amendment right to demonstrate.

The 800 KV dc line is equivalent to the largest line in the U.S. (The other line runs primarily through the deserts of eastern California.) "Comparing most other power lines to this one is like comparing a creek to the Mississippi River," said one farmer who lives under the line.

The main arguments against the high voltage power line are that the farmers and their farms are guinea pigs in determining the health and safety dangers posed by the line; the line isn't needed since electrical demand has fallen; at 1.2 billion dollars the line is too expensive; and the farmer's civil rights were abused during the public hearings and condemnation proceedings.

Cooperative Power Association and United Power Association built the line from Underwood, N.D., to Delano. The conversion station is the starting place for two 345 KV ac lines that carry the electricity into a regional grid whose largest share holder is Northern States Power, a private utility.

In spite of the resistance to the power line, it is now completed. What happens next is speculation.

Some farmers predict direct action against the line will continue. In the last few months, steel for the towers has been bent, insulators shot out, and four towers were unbolted and toppled.

The line has occasionally been energized in the last month for testing experiments. "When you stand under it, it feels like there're spiders all over your body," said farmer Virgil Fuchs. Fuchs thinks opposition to the line will grow as the effects of the line on the farmers, their equipment, and the land become apparent.

*Vicki Lofquist is a free-lance journalist in Minnesota.*

## A defendant in the Delano trespass case had this to say to the jury before it acquitted him:

Two weeks ago Sunday I crossed the police line out at the Delano (Minn.) substation while carrying a banner that read "Stop The Power Line." I was arrested.... Risking arrest that day was an act of civil disobedience. For me it was also an act of conscience and love....

More than 8,500 acres of farm land have been taken by the utilities for this project. Many more lines are planned and thousands of more acres of farm land will be taken. Virtually all of the farm land removed from production for these lines has been taken from small, family farmers. Virtually none of it has been taken from the huge corporate farms.

These projects add to the already powerful pressure on Minnesota farmers to "get big or get out." Every year the number of people living on the land in this state decreases, and centralized power over what we eat and how it's grown fills the vacuum and expands. As a result, towns get smaller, cities get bigger. There are constantly fewer jobs and degenerating social conditions. The quality of food grows worse and its price goes higher. And it constantly takes more and more non-renewable fuel to run the whole show. Only the big corporations profit from the mess.

The Underwood (N.D.) to Delano pow-

erline will be run on coal strip-mined from the so-called "coal fields" of North Dakota. These "coal fields" were once farm and forest land, important natural water ways and drainage systems. They are being destroyed. It takes a thousand years for a single inch of natural humus to develop. The damage will not be repaired in historical time. Natural reclamation will take place only within geological time.

## There's nothing ordinary about Minnesota farmers.

The coal company doing this damage is also the company that stands to profit most from this project.

All these things add up to a massive violation of the carrying capacity of the land, the point beyond which both the land and all that lives on it are depleted. To violate the carrying capacity of the land threatens extinction. The latest theory is that the dinosaurs became extinct because they were so huge and mindless and slow moving. Their enormous appetites defoliated the regions where they

lived, and they were too slow and too stupid to move elsewhere and so began to eat their own eggs and soon were extinct. They had violated the carrying capacity of the land.

I've heard a lot of talk lately about the "ordinary farmers" of Minnesota. I for one don't think there's anything ordinary about them. On the contrary, they work extraordinarily hard at jobs that are absolutely essential to life. They have shown extraordinary strength and imagination in their fight to maintain themselves and their way of life in the face of the threat the power line poses.

The ordinary people are the ones who man the corporations and government agencies that want to see the line go through. They are motivated only by greed for power and money. They are ordinary because they love order for its own sake and because we run the risk of taking them and their motives more and more for granted.

The choice that's before you today is the same as the choice I made at Delano two weeks ago. I hope that you too will act out of conscience and love. If you do, who knows.... It might not be too late for those who run the dinosaur interests to become extraordinary people too.

—Geoffrey Gardner



## CALIFORNIA SPLIT LEVEL

## The squeeze is on tenants and owners

Norma Jean Gordon

By Larry Remer

**T**HE ROOF LEAKS AND THE plumbing needs fixing, but Dave and Randi Jaspers are elated with their new 30-year-old frame house in La Mesa. For \$69,000 their two-bedroom home was a good deal on the current California housing market. Even so, the Jaspers had to sell one of their cars and borrow money from Randi's parents for the down payment. They also had to postpone having a second child—they have a four-year-old daughter—so both of them can work and they can meet nearly \$700 in monthly outlays for the mortgage, insurance and taxes.

But for every family like the Jaspers, there are ten others in California who have been priced out of the housing market by inflation. That makelstay of the American dream—single family home ownership—is rapidly disappearing just as the post-World War II generation is coming of home-buying age.

No matter how many times one sees them, the figures are still mind-boggling. In 1974, the average price of a single-family home in California was \$37,800. Today, four years later, that home sells for \$91,500—an increase of more than 140 percent. By way of comparison, in the rest of the country the median price for a home has risen during the same period from \$37,800 to \$60,000—almost 60 percent. This inflation continues unabated, with home costs in California rising at close to 30 percent annually.

Interest rates have also climbed steadily. In the early '70s, most home loan mortgages cost 7.75 percent. When the Jaspers bought their home this fall, they thought themselves lucky to pay 9.25 percent. Each percentage point rise in the interest rate adds approximately \$110 a month to the payment on a \$50,000 mortgage.

Now that President Carter's plan to tighten credit by raising the rate the Federal Reserve charges banks for the money they borrow, interest rates have jumped



Is the California housing boom coming to an end?

sharply. Last month several major California banks announced a raise in home mortgage rates to 11 percent. Economists predict they will go higher next year.

Federal guidelines, drawn in more robust economic times, recommend that the average family allocate 25 percent of its income for housing. But a recent San Jose survey of first-time homeowners indicated that the norm now approaches 50 percent.

For renters, who don't even build up equity in a home, the problems are even worse. Rents have risen almost as fast as housing costs. As more people find themselves priced out of the housing market, competition for scarce rental units increases and rents rise. In Los Angeles, the September vacancy rate dipped to 2.4 percent, far below the 5 percent federal government figure for a "severe housing shortage."

**A few years ago, families were supposed to spend 25 percent of their income on housing. Now they're spending 50 percent.**

Popular reaction to the housing crisis has already touched off two potent mass movements to bring relief to California homeowners and renters. The homeowners' rebellion peaked last spring with the passage of Prop. 13, which cut the spiral of rising property taxes that had been following home prices upwards. But Prop. 13, which also drastically reduced government revenues, could mean Draconian

cuts in government services when its full impact is felt next year.

An insurgent renters' movement has been building in a dozen California cities since mid-summer (ITT, Aug. 2). In the recent elections, rent relief measures were on the ballot in a dozen places, but won only in Berkeley and Davis. A statewide housing network, with firm ties to grassroots tenants groups, is nevertheless emerging (see sidebar) to push rent measures in more locales and to fight for legislation to protect tenants.

**Capitalist crisis.**

Housing is such a basic necessity and home construction is vital to the political economy that the housing crisis is shaking California.

The roots of this crisis can be found deep in the contractions of the American

Continued on page 18.

## The rent-control movement grows in California

Renters will constitute more than half of all California households by 1980 if present trends continue. By 1985 they will outnumber homeowners 60-40. Thus, as the housing crisis deepens and rents continue to escalate, the cry of "Tenant Power!" could well prove to be a definitive dynamic in state politics in the '80s.

But it wasn't until Prop. 13 passed last spring, cutting taxes 40 percent and more for both single-family homeowners and landlords, that California's tenant movement began to pick up steam. Part of the pitch to the voters from Prop. 13's author, Howard Jarvis, was that landlords would share their tax savings with beleaguered tenants. However, after the initiative passed, most landlords reneged on that promise and many—despite their pending Prop. 13 tax windfall—raised rents.

Fueled by these false promises, tenant organizations sprang to life in a dozen California cities to demand rent relief. For tenants, who'd been watching their rents rise three times faster than the cost of living, the move came none too soon.

In Los Angeles, tenants joined with the Coalition for Economic Survival (CES) and the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) to push a six-month rent freeze through the City Council. Community activists in San Francisco put an anti-speculation ordinance on the neck of the local Board of Supervisors and, after it went down to defeat, gathered enough signatures to place a rent relief measure on the November

ballot. Tenant groups also put rent initiatives on the November ballot in Berkeley, Davis, Palo Alto and Santa Cruz.

Statewide, CED threw its resources into the fight for rent relief. A CED drive to gain a rent freeze in the L.A. suburb of El Monte was successful and when landlords in that city began to defy the ban CED pressured the L.A. District Attorney to step in and enforce the law.

But rent relief never managed to become a full-fledged issue in this year's gubernatorial race. Gov. Jerry Brown played both sides of this issue, first by courting landlord support and then by coming out for mandatory rent relief.

Brown's vehicle for this political tight-rope walk was the establishment of a "renter's hotline" in Sacramento to monitor complaints from tenants whose rents were being raised despite the passage of Prop. 13. As the tenants movement hit the front pages, Brown appeared at press conferences with landlords urging a "voluntary" rent rollback lest the political climate get so hot that mandatory controls were implemented. Then, at summer's end, with his campaign coffers filled to overflowing, Brown announced the findings of his hotline: rents were going up; not down; and in 80 percent of the cases where rent hikes had been reported to the hotline and state officials had tried to persuade the landlord to hold off, the landlords had refused.

So Brown, rather belatedly, threw his support to a bill by Assemblyman Tom

Bates (D-Oakland) to mandate landlords to pass through 80 percent of their Prop. 13 tax savings to their tenants. Backed by CED and the California Housing Action/Information Network (CHAIN)—a statewide group of grassroots organizations that work on the housing issue—the Bates bill passed the Assembly but died in the Senate under heavy pressure from the real estate lobby.

Brown sidestepped the various local campaigns on behalf of rent relief, but real estate interests did not. To oppose four rent relief measures in San Francisco, Berkeley, Palo Alto, and Santa Cruz, the real estate lobby reported campaign spending in excess of \$1 million. By contrast, community groups spent less than \$50,000 to win in Berkeley and lose narrow races in San Francisco and Santa Cruz.

In San Francisco, the failure of the S.F. Housing Coalition and the Tenants Union to organize an effective campaign on behalf of Prop. U in a city that is nearly 70 percent renters was disappointing. But San Francisco housing activists are gearing up for another try, probably next spring or fall.

An encouraging note came with the passage of an anti-speculation ordinance in Santa Cruz. Speculation has become a pernicious problem in urban areas where "fix-it-up-itis" has begun to attract capital from outside decaying areas. As decaying neighborhoods are "upgraded," the poor move out and the middle and upper middle class move in.

The idea behind anti-speculation ordinances, according to Dennis Keating, a San Francisco housing activist, is to discourage rapid turnover by taxing the profits from quick sales. The first year the tax would be 80 percent, under a proposal defeated by San Francisco's Board of Supervisors. The second year 60 percent. The third 40 percent. And so on.

Buoyed by the Santa Cruz success, San Francisco housing activists are considering an anti-speculation initiative to accompany their next effort to pass a rent relief measure. After that city's experience several years ago with the International Hotel—an old folks home that was bought by a Thai multinational to be turned into an office building—any solution to slow down the process of displacement brought on by speculation would be welcome.

As rents continue to rise and the housing situation worsens, rent relief campaigns may spread to more cities. Preliminary efforts to put measures on the ballot are already underway in Hayward, Mountainview, Oakland, Redwood City, Santa Barbara, Santa Monica and San Diego.

"We will try again and again," vowed a housing activist at West Coast Housing Conference of housing activists in San Francisco in mid-November, sponsored by the National Association of Neighborhoods. "Eventually we'll win. And even if we don't, we'll wear them down by forcing them to spend \$1 million to our \$50,000 every election." ■



## FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

## FBI wants freedom to spy on citizens

A Philadelphia lawyer says FBI intentionally exposes some of its informers to make FOIA look bad.

By Al DiFranco

**C**LAIMING THAT WHAT YOU don't know can keep their agents and informers from getting hurt, the FBI and other executive branch law enforcement agencies are seeking a ten-year delay on disclosures required under the Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts.

FBI chief William Webster has made several public appeals in recent months for a moratorium—the agency calls it a “cooling off” period—that would delay the release of FBI dossiers for ten years from the date of their filing.

But in a report released Nov. 15, the General Accounting Office (GAO) said there was no conclusive evidence that law enforcement was being impeded by requiring federal agencies to open some of their files to the public.

The GAO report included at least 50 case histories in which law enforcement agencies bemoaned what they claimed were financial burdens, a crippling of effectiveness and increased problems of sharing information with each other.

Critics say the FBI's concern is not for its own people, that it is intentionally allowing them to be exposed in order to make the FOIA and Privacy acts appear to be a threat to efficient law enforcement. They also charge the agency is using disclosures to third parties selectively to smear, intimidate and sometimes endanger the lives of citizens it secretly spied on.

To support its arguments against public disclosures, the FBI also claims that the high costs of digging through tens of thousands of files on domestic spying—down to the cost of Xeroxing—diverts too much labor and money from important cloak-and-dagger work.

At present, the agency takes 90 to 120 days to process a request for information. The law requires requests to be processed within ten days. Initial requests are routinely denied, however, which drives up costs when the second request is made by those who refuse to be discouraged by the tactic.

Allen McCreight, who heads the FBI's Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts branch in Washington, told *IN THESE TIMES* that about 64,000 requests for dossiers have been received since the law went into effect in February 1975. He said it has cost the agency an average of about \$328 in salaries, equipment and stationary for processing each request.

According to McCreight, 310 people on the Bureau staff in Washington now work full time on disclosures. Included are 35 “law trained” agents. He complained that agents in field offices around the country also have to take time off from crime-stopping to stake out filing cabinets. The FBI has authority permanently to employ 379 persons to handle the requests.

The legislators who passed the FOIA and Privacy acts had anticipated a cost

of a mere \$550,000 over a six-year period rather than the \$21 million McCreight said has been spent so far.

In addition to the FBI, all executive branch agencies are required to abide by the information legislation, including the bureaus of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Drug Enforcement, the Secret Service and the National Security Agency.

As the FBI is quick to point out, rules for disclosing dossiers make it more complicated and expensive than simply pulling out a file and sending off a Xerox copy.

Deletions of information must be made in cases of:

- Ongoing investigations;
- Where it may jeopardize a fair and impartial trial due to pretrial publicity;
- Become an unwarranted invasion of privacy in the case of a request by a third party such as a lawyer or journalist;
- Reveal confidential FBI sources;
- Reveal unusual physical evidence gathering techniques;
- Or endanger the life or safety of a law enforcement official.

This last point was emphasized by Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA), who chairs the Judiciary committee's permanent subcommittee on investigations. Nunn backs the FBI's contention that organized crime figures are using FOIA to find out what the FBI knows about them.

And McCreight jokingly complains that “the general procedure now is for a fellow to check into prison, get his greys (uniform), tin cup and privacy act request forms,” then start thinking about how to even the score with the G-man who put him away.

McCreight said the thorny problem of revealing information that the law says must be deleted “basically turns around the potential for human error in processing files.” He maintains agents are often not able to get the correct information to the right people and protect themselves and the people they've investigated.

But attorneys active in opening government files to the public say the agency is creating the thorny problems for itself so that it can escape into the briar patch—in this case gain a moratorium on further disclosures.

American Civil Liberties Union staff counsel Mark Lynch said the FBI “got just what they wanted” from legislators in the drafting of protections against revealing FBI information that might damage the FBI or endanger its agents and informers.

David Kairys, Philadelphia-based counsel for the National Emergency Civil Liberty Committee, believes that “the FBI wants some of its informers to get identified. They're often considered expendable people and the agency wants to make Freedom of Information look bad.”

He told *IN THESE TIMES* that information about sex scandals and other embarrassing private subjects is being released to whoever wants the information—without the time and money consuming deletions the agency complains are hamstringing their operation.

Kairys cites a murder case involving labor union strife in Puerto Rico, in which the FBI claimed that Freedom of Information may get people killed. But in that case, Kairys points out, the FBI itself made public a long list of names of those under investigation. “If one of these people gets knocked off, they say Freedom of Information is to blame,” he said.

*Al DiFranco writes regularly for IN THESE TIMES.*



Ben Yablonsky (left), Wade Franklin and Henry Whol (right)

Pat Strandt

## The Hearst strike 40 years later

By Pat Strandt

**T**HE LONGEST WHITE-COLLAR strike up to that time, and one of the longest ever, was commemorated here Dec. 2, exactly 40 years after the fledgling Chicago Newspaper Guild (CIO) walked out on Hearst's *Herald-Examiner* and *Evening American*.

In their first reunion, some 45 strikers gathered at the Midland Hotel with friends and families for dinner and reminiscences that lasted until midnight.

Joining them were younger people—strikers from Madison, Wis., who have been publishing the *Madison Press Connection*, at first a strike paper and now the only cooperative community daily in the U.S.—and officers of the Newspaper Guild. Guild Local 71, Chicago, was represented by its president, Beverly Bennett, and administrative officer, Gerry Minkennen. Both expected their marathon negotiations with the *Sun-Times* to turn into a strike. Bennett's face streamed with tears during part of the evening. (Bargaining next day brought a tentative settlement.)

How do you celebrate a 40-year-old strike, one that went on for 18 months, and which, though technically won, found everyone fired in the end?

*ITT* readers may get a chance to take part in this vicariously. Catalyst Films of Madison got it all, as grist for a documentary they are making on newspaper strikes for PBS.

Part of Catalyst's material is also the three reels taken by the Hearst strikers themselves and used cross-country to raise strike funds. The Guild's strike benefits in the early '40s were \$7 a week, but the unit collected half a million dollars to keep it going.

“I looked up the records,” a young man from Madison Guild told the gathering, “and in the third day of your strike, we sent you a contribution.”

“Did you get it?” he asked. “If you did, could you send it back?”

In a few minutes, a contribution of \$500 was collected for the *Press Connection*.

Many of the strikers brought the others up to date on what they'd done since 1940. Bob Stack teaches labor arbitration at Roosevelt University, after a career with the United Auto Workers (UAW). Ben Yablonsky is professor of journalism at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and director of the fellowships for journalism program, National Endowment for the Humanities. Others continued on papers in Chicago, although there was an active blacklist. These included Chandler Forman, retired *Sun-Times* travel writer, and Wade Franklin, travel editor for the now-de-

ceased *Daily News*. One of the most famous ex-strikers was Milt Woodard, head of the American Football League in the 1960s.

Mike Fusello's wife, daughter, and son were there. Fusello opened “Mickey's Famous Barbeque and Scotch Bar” on Ashland Avenue, Chicago, after the strike.

“I remember when I was six years old,” Mike Jr. told the crowd, “waking up one morning to see bullet holes in the family car. I knew I'd be blamed.”

The Eddie Clarke family—his wife, two daughters, and son—came to the reunion from California. Others came from the east coast, including Harry Wohl from Virginia. Wohl had been head of the Guild unit during the strike.

“From the day we organized,” Wohl remembered, “Hearst tested us. He had a ‘wrecking crew’ which went around the country breaking up unions. He fired 130 of us on the eve of Thanksgiving, and another batch just before Christmas.”

While the 400 strikers were out at the two Hearst papers, the AFL chartered another union in the plant to oppose the CIO Guild. So, after the NLRB finally told Hearst to hire back 60 of the 100 strikers left after 18 months (others shared a monetary award), it also ordered a new election. The AFL unit won, and the 60, with four or five exceptions, were summarily dismissed.

“After 40 years, we find the publishers have not learned their lesson,” Wohl said. “They are still trying to break the union. We saw it at the *Washington Post*, the New York papers, in Wilkes-Barre, and here.” He urged help for those “now waging this wonderful fight in Madison.”

There are a lot of people in Chicago now who remember walking the picket line with the Hearst strikers, including photographer Syd Harris.

Mike Alexandroff, president of Columbia College, was at the dinner. His father, head of the Columbia School of Dramatic Arts, was the first advertiser to pull his ads from the Hearst papers 40 years ago. Graham Dolan, one of the strikers, is a fulltime fundraiser for Columbia College today.

Studs Terkel and Win Stracke had a “mobile” theater that entertained the strikers, and were at the dinner. Curtis MacDougall, retired professor at Northwestern's journalism school, spoke about his early years in the Guild. “Keep alive labor's only weapon, the strike,” he admonished. “I'm afraid young people today will have to learn this firsthand.”

*Pat Strandt, a member of the Newspaper Guild, is secretary of the Illinois Labor History Society.*

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# IN THE WORLD

## EURO-PARLIAMENT



Claude Bourdet, leader of the small Unified Socialist Party of France, who opposes the European Parliament. The poster, of the Socialists for a Workers' Europe, represents the dominant socialist view.

# Unified Socialists' leader cautions against stronger EEC

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

Claude Bourdet, one of the most internationally-minded figures in the French left, is also its staunchest critic of European integration. A French resistance leader and a long-time crusader against nuclear armament, Claude Bourdet is currently a national leader of the small Unified Socialist party (PSU) and the author of a recent book, *L'Europe Truquée* (phony Europe), warning that the strengthening of the European Economic Community (EEC) through the June 1979 direct election of the European Parliament will solidify German-American domination of Western Europe and make socialism virtually impossible in France or Italy for generations to come.

In a Nov. 13 interview in Paris, Claude Bourdet gave his views on some of the pitfalls facing the left in Europe.

Since "Europe" is inevitable, could you explain the process by which the European Parliament will evolve into a supranational body and suggest what strategy the left should adopt in this context?

First of all, I'd like to say that we are already there and that this is not going to be an enormous change. It is going to accelerate a process that has been going on for a long time. A very interesting article in *Business Week* last year said that the EEC institutions were applying Milton Friedman's economic theories to Europe, through the German Federal Bank.

We see what this economic policy is doing in Chile, how it is strengthening the great poles of economic domination, mainly the American multinationals, and of course impoverishing the people. In France, it is much subtler and not so brutal, but a large number of firms, of perfectly valid, middle-sized firms, are being destroyed by this policy, whereas normally they should be alive and competitive.

In what way destroyed, you mean because they can't get credit?

Because the [tight] money policy is closing down on them, this is one way. Another way is that when they are more or less tied to multi-nationals, the multinationals shut them down. There was an exceedingly competitive and modern textile firm in Lyons, which happened to be a branch of a multinational based in America somewhere.

The multinational had a meeting in Mexico a couple of years ago, and the CGT (French General Confederation of Labor) managed to get ahold of the proceedings. That multinational simply decided to close down the French plant so as to let the British and German plants of the same combine remain alive. So sometimes you have decisions like that.

So it's not the free market that is deciding that French industry is not competitive?

It's a new international division of labor that is being decided in an authoritarian way by the "gnomes"; we used to speak of the "gnomes of Zurich," now

it's the gnomes of Frankfurt, of Washington, of New York, Chicago and so on, who are deciding what must be eliminated. The process is so brutal, so many viable firms are being eliminated, that one wonders what is going to be left, and whether France is not going to be completely brought back to the old Marshal Petain's idea of an agricultural country...at least with those specializations that aren't going to have competition from Portugal and Italy. And maybe we'll be left motorcars.

But it's not a real capitalist competition with the best firm winning out. It's an artificial, planned system, decided by people who are very high in the realm of international politics and economics, and which in France is piloted by the Germans. So this is what happens already without the European Parliament.

Yes, now the Italian Communists stress that since this is happening already, political integration of Europe can make the process more fair, obtain investment for poorer regions and so on.

I would say that what has happened up to now answers for the future. The EEC has already hatched regional development plans. In Brussels there are funds for this and funds for that. In no way has this countered the trend favoring the stronger parts and weakening the weakest. Where does a dollar, or a mark, earn the greatest dividend? Not in the underdeveloped Italian South, or any underdeveloped region. It is, of course, in the very central regions, such as the German Ruhr, or

the Paris region, where you already have all the most qualified people, facilities, so on.

I quoted in my book a warning example given by Gunnar Myrdal back in the 1950s that I consider very important. Remember, he said, the terrible impact that the union of Italy in 1866 had on the economy of southern Italy. Southern Italy was at that time emerging into the industrial world and was not much worse off than the North. But conditions were better in the North, and with unity the North was developed, and development in the South was killed for a century.

I think it's important to be strong to oppose this natural trend, this stream of riches going to riches.

A second point that I make in my book is, I think, a capital point, but it's difficult to explain it sufficiently. It's a thing you feel. You see, I happen to live in two worlds, because I'm a bourgeois, and all my family are bankers, industrialists, big bosses of this or that, counsels of ministers and so on. On the other hand, from my party and my own decision, I'm on the other side.

But I meet these people. And I see how easy it is for the top people, for the establishment, to communicate from one country to another. Of course they have, from time to time, displayed brutal chauvinism. But once they have decided to put an end to chauvinism and to have good relations with each other, it's a matter of telephoning. They speak languages, their assistants know how to work with computers, and cooperation between the top few is exceedingly easy.

Cooperation on the other side is tremendously difficult.

The normal trade unionist doesn't understand at all what the effects are of something that's happening in Germany. Tell him, for instance, you ought to go on strike because the company you're working for is exploiting workers in Hamburg, and he'll say, "I don't care." The leaders understand this and they try, but every time they have to make the slightest decision, they've got to ask one million people.

And so it's my feeling that it will take centuries, or maybe millenaires, for the working class to be able to compete with the people on top.

Then there's a third point. The European Parliament is not going to be concerned with every-day matters; it's going to be concerned with major events and international policy.

In this area of international decisions, the fear among the Germans, and especially among the German Socialists, that some sort of left-wing takeover might occur in Italy or in France, will be uppermost. Why? Not, I think, because of some sort of anti-Communist hatred. I don't think people like Brandt and Schmidt are schizophrenic berserks. I think there's a perfectly rational reason.

The way in which the German Social Democratic leadership has been able to evolve a very subtle understanding with the more progressive and intelligent circles of the ruling class would be destroyed in one day by the emergence in Germany of any sort of left worth speaking about. Why do you see now the perfectly brutal handling of the *Berufsverbot* (bans on "radicals" exercising their profession)? Why, McCarthy was an angel compared to what's going on in West Germany. Why are they doing this?

They're not crazy, they're not frantic about terrorism and communism, but they know that this is a jolly good tool to use to keep things quiet in the labor movement controlled by the powerful Social Democratic party. Not long ago, there was a metalworkers union in West Germany that was way ahead of anything in France. Now, if there was a Socialist government in France and a Communist government in Italy, you would see a sudden upsurge in Germany of such forces. They are there, inside the Social Democratic party, inside the unions.

The Social Democrats now seem within a hair of losing power in West Germany to the Christian Democrats, who meanwhile



have moved far to the right of where they were before, along with the whole country...

In that case, the Christian Democrats will have control of the Federal Bank of Germany, and they're the ones who will use the economic levers to put pressure on France and Italy. Even now, the understanding between Germany and Italy is such that the Germans have German inspectors inside the Italian financial system, and the money is given every month, so that if the Italians don't play ball, the money stops. Italy's completely under the thumb of Germany. Who's manipulating this?

Today it's the Social Democrats, our dear Schmidt and Brandt, you can still hope they have some friendly feelings. But once it's Strauss and the others, things will be different. It's not going to become nicer, it's going to become worse.

There are likely to be conservative majorities in Germany and in the European

Parliament. The European Parliament can become a tremendous weapon for the German right wing.

Maybe what our Italian friends hope is that within this united Europe, when this happens, the German Social Democrats will realize that all they did was to strengthen the German right, and they'll beat their chests and suddenly come to an agreement with the whole of the left including the Communists. I'm not so sure.

*Someone I was having dinner with last night was arguing for Europe saying that all the progressive movements in Europe in recent centuries have been Europe-wide and therefore...*

That is typically French. That is the incapacity of following a point into its pragmatic and dialectic intricacies, and satisfying oneself with an idea that on the abstract, general level seems absolutely perfect. It's quite true that movements have

always developed all over Europe. But where and how have they been active? Has there been any case in history of an active and practical support of one area by another?

In 1848, there were movements all over Europe. But what practical support by the French to the Poles and so on? Meetings, of course, and articles by intellectuals. Have they ever prevented the armies of reaction from crushing the movements one after another in each country? No.

When it comes to fighting your ruling class, it's going to be uncommonly easier for the French to fight the French establishment, the Italians to fight the Italian establishment, than for a theoretically united and actually quite loose European working class to fight the gnomes of integration centralized in Brussels or wherever they're going to be.

*What then should be done?*

It's quite possible that we can't do anything. It is clear that we will have to develop all possible common links between the workers of Britain, France, Italy and so on. I'm all in favor of this. I don't think it's going to be effective. We'll have to do it because there'll be nothing else to do.

This is not a reason for saying in advance that this is going to be good when we know it's going to be bad. But we have no proof of what we say, and all the money is on the other side, there's going to be a tremendous campaign for Europe. Already people are completely manipulated by the media.

But later on, if this turns out to be an instrument not only of the ruling classes, but also for the under-developing or Latin Americanization of large areas, so that people feel completely colonized, then they're going to get angry. Then there will arise some sort of resistance. ■

# European Socialists divide on aims

By Nancy Lieber

P A R I S

**M**ORE THAN 200 EUROPEAN Socialists gathered Nov. 7-8 in Lille, France, at a festive opening of the French Socialist party's (PS) campaign for the June 1979 direct elections to the European Parliament. The participants were treated royally to a champagne/caviar reception in the monstrous neo-Flemish City Hall; speeches in the rococo City Opera auditorium by the mayors of Lille, Grenoble, Athens, Lisbon; cold buffets of pheasant and whole roasted pig in beautifully restored city-owned medieval inns; an evening concert of Brahms, Wagner, and Schoenberg by the Lille Philharmonic Orchestra; and more speeches by Willy Brandt, Melina Mercouri (Greek Socialist deputy), Peces-Barbas (head of the Spanish Socialist Parliamentary Group), Mario Soares, Georges Strehler (Italian composer/director and Socialist activist), Joop Den Uyl (former Prime Minister of Holland), and Francois Mitterrand.

These national, regional and municipal leaders came to Lille from the nine member countries of the European Economic Community (EEC)—France, Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Great Britain, Denmark, Ireland—plus the three applicant nations (Spain, Portugal, Greece), to stress that despite their regional/national diversities they shared a common European culture; that despite their particular economic/social/political experiences they shared common European problems. Their aim was to campaign together for the unprecedented direct elections to the European Parliament so that, in the words of PS leader and Mayor of Lille Pierre Mauroy, "the construction of Europe, so deceptive up until now, can take on a new direction." For European socialists, that new direction is away from a "Europe of Capital" and toward a "Europe of Working people."

## Democratic Europe.

When the Treaty of Rome was signed 20 years ago giving birth to the EEC, many European socialists were optimistic about the eventual possibility of a United States of Europe. Now, however, they do not hesitate to criticize the content—though not the existence—of the construction of Europe. For incontestably, they charge, the EEC has evolved into a "liberal, Atlantic Europe," a Europe of free markets and of domination of those markets by American multinationals. (MNCs).

Such a development was not necessarily inherent in the original Treaty of Rome, which called for a wide range of common European Community policies. But where, say the socialists, is the common employment policy necessary to help the more than six million unemployed in Europe today? Where is the energy policy that would deal with conservation, waste, and excessive dependence on imported

oil? Where is the industrial policy that would allow governments and workers greater control over the MNCs? Or that would permit a rational restructuring and salvaging of steel, textiles, shipbuilding, and other "endangered" industries? Where is the much-talked-about regional policy that would reduce inequalities among regions and resurrect areas of declining population and economic viability?

The problem as the socialists see it is that the EEC institutions are particularly amenable to liberal interests whose main policy often is to have no policy. Thus ultimate power is held by the EEC Council of Ministers (comprised usually of the Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers of each of the Nine and which meets several times a year). Day to day authority lies with the European Commission

in the Union of Socialist Parties of the European Community (a regional body of the Socialist International) and have recently signed a common electoral manifesto.

Yet, there are differences over the European question between the more traditional social democrats and their democratic socialist partners. These differences were apparent enough during the two years of talks leading to the June 1978 Manifesto to prevent it from being a true common Socialist program for the European elections. Those differences were heard again at the gathering in Lille in the speeches of Brandt and Mitterrand.

Brandt, the social democrat, spoke of "l'Europe sociale," of a political, supranational Europe as a force for peace between East and West. In contrast, Mitterrand, the democratic socialist, evoked

by a centralized dictatorship), and decentralization of institutions.

## Communists split.

Since the PS's campaign opening in Lille, the question of Europe has dominated the press. The French Communist party's (PCF) criticism of the Socialist gathering ("a drift to the right of the PS") highlighted once again the divisions among European Communists. The PCF, in retreat from its previous common program commitment, urged all "patriots" to join it in opposing a European construction that would inhibit "French progress and national grandeur."

Such language has earlier prompted a Spanish Communist party spokesman to decry the "false and demagogic arguments" put forth by the PCF in rejecting Spanish, Portuguese and Greek EEC membership. It also prompted Pierre Mauroy to accuse the PCF of adopting positions that were "more and more national-poujadist, ignoring the international concept of the workers' movement."

In contrast, the Spanish and Italian Communists (PCI) are highly supportive of the entry of the three candidate countries, with the PCI making up for the PCF's ultra-nationalism with its own ultra-federalism. Indeed, the PCI has recently advocated a "plurinational European government" with majority rule replacing the present unanimity rule and accountable to the new European Parliament. Furthermore, the PCI has indicated it would like to see formed in the new Parliament a "single group of the left" (to include the projected 130-140 social democrats and democratic socialists and the anticipated 50 communist deputies), a proposal abhorred by the French Communists.

Then a week after Lille, Helmut Schmidt dramatically reopened the question of further European development by envisaging an eventual increase in the scope and powers of the new Parliament. This touched off an uproar, particularly in France, with the Communists and Gaullists outdoing each other in defense of French national sovereignty, Giscard assuring his audience he would not deliver France into a supra-national (and German-dominated) Europe, the French Socialists steering a safe middle course of "once Europe is socialist-dominated, then it can think of expanding its powers."

Whatever eventually is done about the configuration of power within the EEC, European Socialists argue that at any rate the conditions for a successful "liberal Europe"—low wages, favorable monetary exchange rates, cheap oil, no industrial capacity in the Third World—simply no longer exist. To stop the economic decline of Europe, the EEC must move to commodity-wide democratic planning. What was once desirable, conclude the Socialists, is now rendered necessary by the international economic crisis of the 1970s. ■

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## Socialism or social democracy? Germany's Willy Brandt favors "l'Europe sociale," while France's Francois Mitterrand argues for "l'Europe socialiste."

in Brussels, a body of 13 Commissioners appointed for four-year terms and staffed with over 9,000 "Eurocrats." The European Parliament, which meets approximately one week per month, consists of over 400 deputies appointed by their respective parliaments, but it is nearly powerless.

The first step towards opening up the institutions of Europe to working people and their representatives, say the Socialists, is the democratization of those institutions—hence their support for the upcoming direct elections to the European Parliament. It is also in the name of democracy that they favor the entry of Spain, Portugal, Greece, three former dictatorships which would find it difficult to revert to authoritarianism once in the EEC.

## Socialist divisions.

The socialists are not expected to gain the majority in the new European Parliament. While they form the largest party in five of the nine EEC nations (Great Britain, Denmark, France, Holland, Luxembourg, as well as in Spain and Portugal) and the second largest in two more (Belgium, Germany, plus Greece), they are nowhere able to exercise national governmental power without liberal coalition partners (as is the case in Belgium, Great Britain, Germany, Luxembourg, Denmark, and, formerly, Portugal). However, the European Socialists are expected to constitute the single largest bloc in the new Parliament, with from 130-140 out of 410 deputies (or around one-third). In addition, they already are formally organized

"l'Europe socialiste," requiring structural changes in the European economic system (such as control of the MNCs, planning increased workers' rights leading to self-management).

The French Socialists deliberately chose Lille, rather than Paris, as a site for the European Socialists meeting in order to play up those differences. For Lille is exemplary of what has long existed throughout Europe—successful municipal socialism. It was in Lille, heartland of the European industrial north, that the "Internationale" was first sung; in places like Lille that the working class first gained power through the vote and proceeded to institutionalize services previously available to them only through their trade unions—sickness/old age/unemployment relief, housing/schools/clinics/libraries/cultural/recreational facilities.

This battle for "l'Europe quotidienne," or "everyday Europe," continues to unite all socialists—indeed, the entire European left—and the specific intent of Lille was to show that the new urban concerns of the 1970s are again similar throughout Europe. Thus regional and municipal socialist leaders all spoke of problems concerning control of city expansion, preservation of jobs, the battle against housing speculators, preservation of historic city centers, renovation rather than bulldozing of existing old housing, vehicle versus pedestrian priorities. Each also spoke of the need for greater participation by citizens in local government (especially difficult, pointed out the Mayor of Lisbon, after 40 years of total control



## ISRAEL

# Left Bank control issue is dividing peace forces

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

**I**N NOVEMBER 1977, A HIGH-LEVEL government commission was assigned the task of drawing up a blueprint for dealing with Israel's mounting environmental problems. Last week, a crusading member of parliament tried to call to the public's attention the fact that absolutely nothing has been done. But to no avail: The country's attention continues to be focused elsewhere.

Since President Anwar Sadat's two-day blitz in Jerusalem a year ago, Israeli society has undergone a series of shocks and transformations. Only the accelerated inflation—Israel's 50 percent rate is the world's second-highest today, after Argentina—brought on by the Menachem Begin government's "New Economic Policy" has approached politico-military events as a subject of public concern. And reaction to the financial hardship has certainly been muted by the year's diplomatic adventures.

One immediately noticeable change after my absence from the country for nearly a year was the number of cars bearing bumper stickers inscribed "Peace Now" or "Peace is better than Greater Israel." Before Sadat, only decals calling for annexation of the occupied territories were commonly seen. A peace slogan would likely have invited a slashed tire or shattered window.

But a grass-roots peace movement arose in spring 1978, when it appeared that Begin was going to let Sadat's initiative die. Not even the invasion of Lebanon last March was able to dissuade tens of thousands from demonstrating and many more from signing petitions—until the Camp David summit of September.

Today, however, bumper stickers are all that remain visible from the Peace Now movement. When Begin crossed the Israeli rubicon and agreed publicly to return all of Sinai and dismantle the settlements there, most people's demand for enough flexibility to attain agreement with Egypt was apparently met. The Peace Now people had never clarified an exact political stand, least of all on the Palestinian issue, which remains to be settled. Overnight, many of the movement's leaders became Begin's biggest boosters.

## Opposition from the right.

It is precisely on the Palestinian issue that opposition to current Israeli policy is being heard—from the other side. While the Arab world debates *how* to oppose the West Bank-Gaza "autonomy" plan, a fairly broad spectrum of political opinion in Israel—not only the fanatic right—believes and fears that autonomy, as tentatively agreed to by Israeli and Egyptian negotiators, would lead inexorably to a Palestinian state, with the PLO entering through the back door. A current wall poster tries to arouse fears by printing, under the headline "Autonomy," a large photo of an armed Arab examining identification papers of a family obviously meant to be Israeli Jews.

Begin's own base within the governing *Likud* amalgam of parties, *Herut*, is deeply split. Many old stalwarts from this traditionally hawkish force criticize even the Sinai agreement; long-established personal loyalties have begun to crack and degenerate into bitter infighting. Eggs and tomatoes were thrown at the prime minister's car, and he was heckled at a recent party conference, and a reshuffle of cabinet positions begun in late Novem-

**Bumper stickers are now all that remain of the Peace Now movement as fear of Palestinian control of the Left Bank splits left and right.**

ber was the scene of acrimonious bickering.

The *Likud*'s liberal component, headed by finance minister Simha Ehrlich, generally backs the premier, but is torn by internal factional fights. Two ministers from *La'am*, who originally broke from the Labor Party on hawkish grounds, have resigned in protest against Begin's "betrayal." Hawk-dove differences within the religious parties, crucial coalition partners, have also been magnified by the government's recent "concessions," as they are seen here.

In the initial vote on Camp David last September, the government would not have won approval on the strength of coalition votes alone. Only because most of the Labor opposition supported him did Begin win a large majority. But even then, some had misgivings, and they have become even more vocal with time. Such outflanking from the right by the Labor opposition is not as peculiar as it may sound at first: Labor headed the previous government, which established the Sinai settlements Begin would now abandon. Most of the affected settlers, and those in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights who fear that they may be next, are connected to Labor-affiliated bodies through its settlement movements.

At best, it may be said that the majority of Labor Alignment parliament members support the Camp David agreements more than many in the ruling coalition—which is not saying much.

## Left divided.

The Israeli left, whose Socialist-Zionist, Communist and other elements once shared a general conception of support for Palestinian self-determination, is also deeply divided by the Camp David process. Left-Zionist *Sheli* is only slightly less than enthusiastic in its support. It expresses the hope that the autonomy plan, under American pressure, will develop into something approaching Palestinian independence, but is at best ambiguous on the PLO's role in the process.

The Communist party (CP), on the other hand, echoes the stand taken by Arab states at the Baghdad summit conference of early November: castigation of President Sadat for his "betrayal" of the Palestinians and characterization of the West Bank-Gaza autonomy plan as a mere fig leaf for continued Israeli occupation. The CP adds its condemnation of what it sees as a "pax Americana," designed to serve reactionary interests throughout the region, and affirms its support of an independent, PLO-led Palestinian state alongside Israel, with international guarantees supplied by the USSR as well as the U.S.

A number of deputies both in the coalition and Labor expressed their ambivalence over the Camp David formula by abstaining in last September's vote. One member of the left used this parliamentary tactic as well: Charley Biton, independent Black Panther and a part of the Communist-dominated Democratic Front



Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, leaving the State Department after meeting with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Oct. 27.

for Peace and Equality (DFPE).

Some other small components of the DFPE, like *Shasi* (Socialist Left) and Aki (Communist Opposition) also argued for this course. Their basic position differs little from that of the CP, but they argue that even the few concessions made by Begin represent a small victory for the Palestinians, which must be advanced by further struggle against what Begin surely intends to do—solidify Israel's hold on the other occupied territories after Sinai is abandoned. They say that the educational value of what has been done should not be underestimated. Withdrawal, even in Sinai, to the 1967 border and the dismantling of settlements could not have been contemplated before Sadat's initiative.

These differences among the peace forces and the fast pace of events in general make the present a confusing, transitional period in Israel. The debates tearing apart virtually every party are bound to become even more divisive if the Washington talks are successful. It is conceivable that a majority of coalition members in parliament could oppose such a treaty when it would come to a vote.

In such a case, Begin might still be rescued by the opposition, and the government composition might have to change to reflect the new consensus. A whole different set of political parties is liable to exist in Israel by the next elections—scheduled for 1981, but possibly much earlier if the situation demands it.

## Deteriorating economy.

Though still way out in left—and in right—field on the peace issue, the Labor party showed considerable strength in November's municipal elections, held throughout the country. Foreign affairs was not an issue, given all the parties' ambiguity on the subject. Except for some towns, where strictly local topics and personalities were debated, it was Israel's deteriorating economic situation that Labor employed to win votes.

The *Likud* has not succeeded in its plan to attract hidden "black" capital back into productive investment, or to cut inflation, which has risen to new heights in the past year. Food and housing costs, especially, have skyrocketed. Despite numerous strikes aimed at defending living standards, the average Israeli's real income has dropped 10 percent, but Finance

Minister Ehrlich had the impudence to complain recently that price rises were the result of "too much money in the public's hands."

As a remedy, he proposed a "consumers' strike." The suggestion to stop buying became the butt of much humor in the press, though, amazingly enough, the Labor-controlled Histadrut workers' federation actually called such an action for one afternoon in late November. It failed. Ehrlich still blames his predecessors' "30 years of mismanagement" for Israel's ills, but as time goes on, less and less people are inclined to accept this diagnosis.

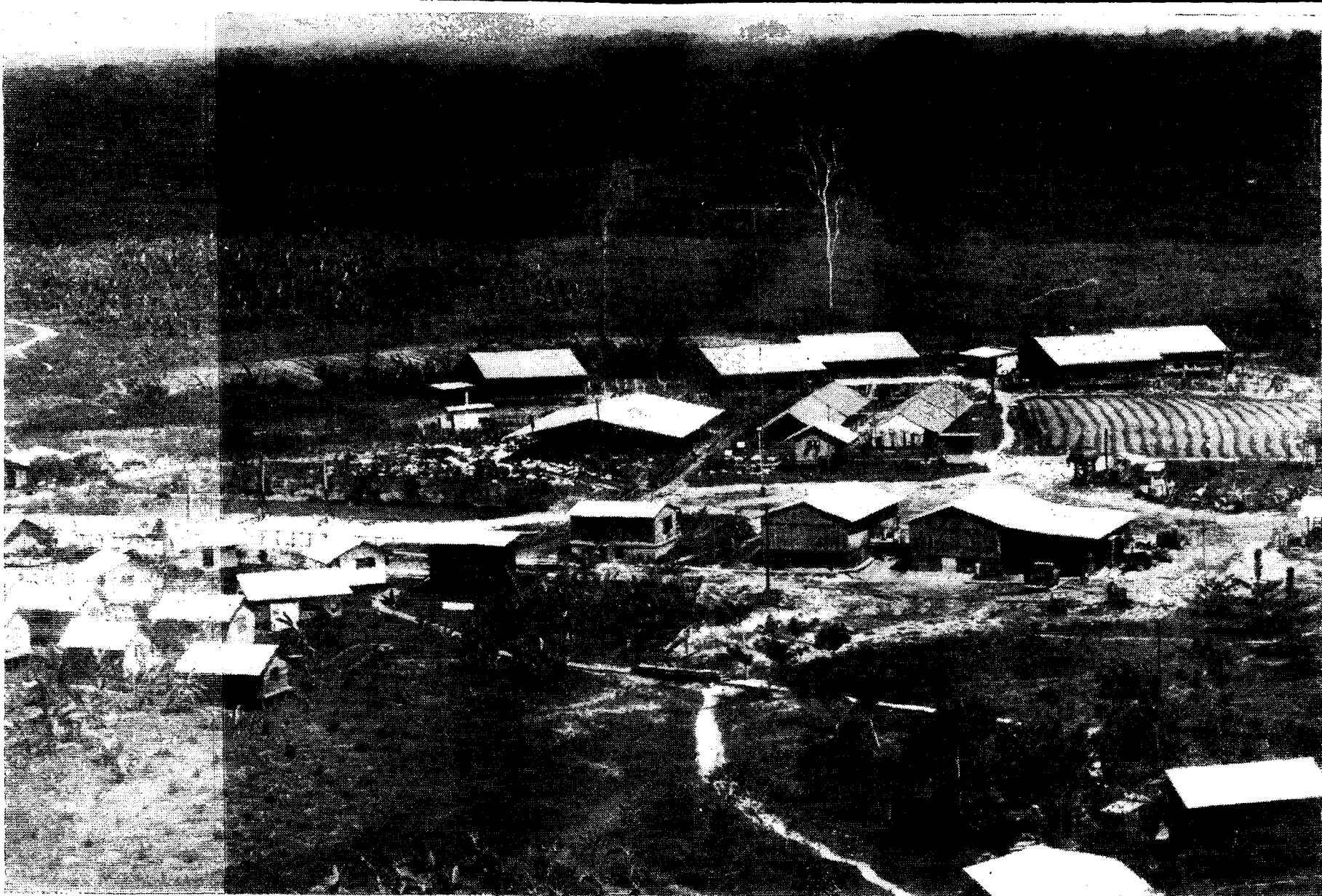
But most Israelis do remember that conditions were not tremendously better before the *Likud* came to power, and as a result, Labor's victory now was far from smashing. It suffered nothing like the 1977 parliamentary debacle, but there was still a small net loss.

The largest vote in the municipal elections was that of the abstainers. Only 55 percent of all eligible voters cast ballots, a much lower figure than ever before, and only in Arab cities and villages was the percentage consistently higher. There, the Democratic Front candidates represent a serious opposition to the central government; the Communist-led coalition took over several dozen new town halls.

Thus, surprising as it may seem at a time of tense negotiations, the clearest electoral message sent by Israeli voters, as in 1977, was dissatisfaction with their economic hardships. Despite all the shouting in parliament, there is much less public protest against Begin's "concessions" than there was against the 1975 interim agreement with Egypt, when Begin himself vocally led the opposition.

A centrist bloc of *Likud* and religious moderates, Labor conservatives and assorted others could probably gain broad majority backing, if it looked like it could bring peace with Egypt—and if its leaders could agree among themselves over how to distribute power. But a tremendous gap would still exist between this new Israeli consensus and the rest of the Arab world, including the 1.25 million Palestinians who would remain under what they view to be continued occupation. Nor would today's massive economic problems have found an easy solution—and there would be no party handy on which to blame them.





Liaison/Gamma

*In this second article of a three part series, David Moberg reports from Guyana on how the Jones cult destroyed independent thought or action among its disciples.*

**J**ONESTOWN WAS SUPPOSED TO BECOME a regular city, a virtual paradise. There were supposed to be fruit trees where you could just pick what you wanted. You could eat anything you wanted, do any work you wanted, go back to school. Jim Jones was going to grow food and give it and medical aid to poor people around the world.

Jerry Parks, 45, a one-time grocery store manager, was drawn to this would-be utopia of the Rev. Jim Jones in the deep jungle of Guyana as a chance to "do something positive with my life." He had begun following Jones 23 years ago when he lived in Springfield, Ohio, because the controversial young preacher was "very sensitive to people's needs" and seemed to have "some sort of paranormal faculties."

Here was a man who must be good: he was so sincere, so kind, so devoted to humanitarian work, Parks, like many others, thought. Here was a man with purpose: he had a vision of the world reminiscent of the Christianity of the Bible that established churches had long forgotten. Here was a man who was powerful: he could heal the sick, read people's minds, promise "protection" for his "family," organize projects that would—as the verses of Matthew enjoined—feed the hungry and clothe the naked.

So Jerry Parks sold his \$35,000 home and turned the money over to the Peoples Temple. With his mother, his wife, two adolescent daughters and his older son, a medic who was an established associate minister in the church, he followed Jones to the jungle kingdom of 3,824 acres established four years ago. He didn't find what he expected.

"We found it was a virtual prison camp. Once you got here you weren't allowed to leave. You weren't allowed to dissent. You couldn't talk about going back to the U.S. It was very poor land, and there was heavy rain that leached the top soil off. Living conditions were bad. There were 14 people packed in a little 12-by-20 foot cottage. Children were taken away [from parents]. The food was inadequate—just rice, gravy, greens. But Jones and his group had meat.

"The congregation got up at 6:00 and worked from 7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. Then we came home and ate subsistence level food, took a shower and went to the pavilion at 7:30 to listen to the news. The last six weeks it got to be every night. They held those 'people's rallies.' He had people believing there was a conspiracy against us, a movement in the U.S. with CIA backing and some defectors. His philosophy was rather than let them come in and destroy this, it was better to commit revolutionary suicide. But there was no revolution out there."

There was suicide, of course, as a shocked world

now knows, with a latest count of 911 dead at Jonestown, five dead at the airstrip where the group of government officials, journalists and defectors were gunned down by Jones' security force and four more in a combined murder-suicide in Georgetown, Guyana's capital.

Not everyone remembers Jonestown the way Parks does, however. Parks had wanted to leave for a long time and made his move with his family when Congressman Leo Ryan visited. Mike Carter, 20, had not wanted to quit. Along with his brother, Tim, and one-time journalist Michael Prokes, he left as the suicide began with a suitcase full of \$5 million for the Soviet embassy in Georgetown. As radio operator, he had been a member of the inner circle at Jonestown.

Five and a half years ago, Mike followed the lead of his older brother and sister into the Peoples Temple in Redwood Valley, Calif. "I never had a lot of friends before," he said, while—like Parks—detained in the decaying but charming Park Hotel in Georgetown. "I was just sort of rotting away in Boise (Idaho), wasting my life on drugs."

He joined a Peoples Temple commune where he found 25 warm, friendly people and a task that seemed meaningful: taking care of the mentally retarded. He was impressed with the Temple and with Jones: "I'd never seen so many people of different backgrounds, black and white, rich and poor, work-

Photos by Matthew Naythons

# PRISON CAMP OF THE MIND



ing together. Jones seemed to be a warm person. He would always say something that you'd really dig. I was really against the Vietnam war and he'd say America was trying to get money out of Vietnam and war was just a money-making machine. That turned me on politically. And the humanitarian things appealed most. They had a real nice animal shelter in the valley.

"He had a way of speaking that could draw in anybody. He could range over so many subjects he would catch your interest on one of them.

Like his older brother, Tim, who had joined after several years of a "wandering" life devoted to drugs, Mike believed that Jones had special powers to heal and to read minds. That faith persisted even when they later discovered the fraud—such as the "passing of cancerous tumors" that were really rotting chicken entrails or the "mind-reading" made possible by information gleaned from prospective members' homes by Peoples Temple agents in disguise or stealthily entering by force.

Mike Carter saw Jonestown as socialism in action—a society that successfully eliminated money, racism, sexism, ageism, elitism. He still describes it as a beautiful place where the only complaints came from "parasites" and "bourgeois city folk" unwilling to work or accept the need for "structure," a community that was on the verge of success if only the supplies for new housing and other new equipment had arrived before the fateful Ryan visit. "It was just like a community anywhere in the world," he said. "If you like living in the country, it was paradise."

Paradise or prison camp? Socialism or fascism? What was Jonestown before the mass suicides? How could there be such divergent realities? Prominent visitors in Jonestown, including U.S. State Department officials, Guyanese government leaders and leading U.S. leftists, declared that they had seen "the future" (black doctor and newspaper publisher Carlton Goodlett) or "paradise" (lawyer Charles Garry).

**F**OR SEVERAL YEARS THE STORIES OF the few defectors from the Peoples Temple or Jonestown had seemed so bizarre, so twisted and cruel, so fantastic that people were loathe to believe them, especially considering the impressive public record of humanitarianism and devotion to progressive causes that the Peoples Temple and Jim Jones had amassed. Al Mills, one of the earliest defectors to make public charges and now a moving force of the Human Freedom Center in Berkeley, maintains that Jones' maxim was precisely, "Do the unbelievable."

How would anyone believe that Jones persuaded followers to demonstrate their loyalty to him by signing blank confession sheets to be filled in at will or by writing their own admissions of child molestation, bombings of government properties, plots to kill the President, and other crimes or sexual kinkiness? Who would believe the stories of children beaten 75 to 100 times by a thick "board of education"? Who would believe that the People's Temple won support of officials by setting them up in compromising sexual situations and recording the evidence for blackmail? Who would believe that people who had voluntarily joined the church were later threatened if they thought of leaving? Who would believe—until now—reports of rehearsals of mass suicides?

The contrast between appearance and reality was too extreme. Even now, a middle-aged woman who escaped from Jonestown, Edith Bogue, says, "Had this group been what it appeared to be, it would have been terrific."

The simplest answer to this dilemma is that Jonestown was a prison camp of the mind. Before talking to the variety of survivors of Jonestown I had been extremely dubious about claims of "brainwashing" and "mind control." There is much that remains to be explained about the process, but I'm persuaded that something like that does occur in closed, totalitarian cults.

Even more disturbing, it seems clear that the techniques of "mind control," while extreme, are part of a continuum with all forms of acculturation—not just harsh varieties of political persuasion or religious conversion, but also the processes by which any society, any family or any group creates its way of seeing the world. That is not to say that all culture is "brainwashing." Rather, it is tough to draw definitive lines around what is "mind control." Likewise, while some people may be more susceptible than others, the capacity to succumb is not totally alien to any of us.

"Jim Jones always said that if we're ever going to be destroyed, it's from within," Mike Carter explained. "In earlier stages I thought it would mean someone would kill him. Later I thought it meant even one person could leave and tell about our plans to leave [Guyana] for the Soviet Union."

Jim Jones undoubtedly feared both possibilities. He also appears to have been convinced that any de-

## The promise of life-enhancing utopia gave Jones the power to create this deathly disaster. Jones preyed on the best instincts of people to realize their worst fears.

factor could tell the world what was really going on. Despite the desperate counter-offensive—including a publicity campaign that conspiracy lawyer Mark Lane was proposing to Jones in the final months—eventually someone might believe the unbelievable.

Yet Jones was correct in another way. The cult was ultimately destroyed by reason and feeling within the individuals in Jonestown.

Jones had successfully attracted disciples with the promise of meaning, happiness, community, love, security, and purposeful labor that would bring fulfillment to them as individuals. Yet his practices were designed to destroy them as individuals and to eradicate their sense of judgment, independent confirmation of reality, personal needs and self-esteem.

He dictated a new reality that concentrated all power in his hands. That was justified by his possession of "para-normal" talents. With that power he sought to make all of his followers completely dependent on him for meaning and interpretation of their lives and the world. He created deep reservoirs of guilt and self-loathing. He destroyed trust and communication. He tried to eradicate love between husband and wife and between parents and children. He devised a world of perpetual threats and insecurity. And he perverted their talents and labor to such a degree that a doctor, sworn to saving life, supervised the deliberate murder and suicide of over 900 people.

Jonestown is rightly discussed in such starkly contrasting terms as heaven and hell, good and evil, socialism and fascism. It was the promise of life-enhancing utopia that gave Jones the power to create a deathly disaster. Jones preyed on the best instincts of people to realize their worst fears. He turned the desire for collectivity into the service of tyranny. He turned the desire for a humane moral order into an amoral terrorism. In the name of love, he was a sadist worthy of the Marquis' imagination. In the name of liberating Americans from impending fascism, he imprisoned those who sought freedom through him. ("There were some people who wanted to go back," Mike Carter explained, "but they had to be held so that thousands more who wanted to come could do so.") By preaching that the end justifies the means, he produced a result that was the antithesis of his expressed goals. Jones was the Monster Dialectician, the Cancer of Reason.

Eventually it was within a few individuals—very ordinary people, not extraordinary heroes—that the contradictions became apparent and the spell was broken. Most of them do not understand why. Most left behind close relatives—some of whom threatened retaliation as their kin left—who died with Jones. Curiously, some of the killers at the airstrip had earlier said that they wanted to leave Jonestown, and some of the escapees who now denounce Jones hesitated at the last moment about whether they should leave Jonestown.

The springs of their decisions to break with Jones' empire were diverse: desire for freedom to make their own decisions, love for spouse or family, rational perceptions of contradiction between the promises and a reality separate from the group construct that they could still discern, and the simple explanation offered by one old man who fled the final slaughter: "I just didn't want to die."

**I**T MAY ALL SEEM VERY OBVIOUS TO US now. But remember that Jones had nearly everyone fooled to some extent before. *Washington Post* reporter Charles Krause, who was with the Ryan expedition, recalls that up until the moment bullets began crashing toward him after leaving Jonestown he felt that although Jones was "very sick, both physically and mentally," "it seemed to me that the Peoples Temple had a legitimate purpose, a noble purpose, and was more or less succeeding." It is more difficult, perhaps, but just as important for us to understand how most of the people who lived at Jonestown could continue to be fooled as well.

Jonestown was probably 80 to 90 percent black, although Jones and most of the top leaders—with the exception of his adopted son, Johnny Jones—were white. Many of them, perhaps a quarter of all Jonestown, were over 60 years old, usually poor. Desperate, insecure, lonely and usually religious, they were fairly easy recruits, who turned over their social security checks to Jones.

"I used to see those pitiful old people in the [rest home] hacienda where I worked and I thought, 'At least I'll never end up like that,'" said Edith Parks, a 64-year-old white woman who set off the exodus with her note to NBC reporter Don Harris. She worked with the "seniors" and is convinced that "most of them would have fought for [Jonestown]. They didn't have to worry about where they were going to end up." Most of them probably died willingly for Jones as well. One survivor, who escaped after the killing was well underway, said that some of the old people confined to their houses pleaded with him to help them to the camp's pavilion when they found out that the long-discussed, occasionally rehearsed suicides were actually taking place.

Many of them felt that they were already dependent on Jones for their lives. "People laugh about the healing," Mrs. Parks, a religious woman before meeting Jones, said, "but he helped me. I had cancer that had metastasized and the doctor said I had just a matter of months. But I got stronger and stronger. So you kind of hang around somebody who does something like that for you."

Many of the younger blacks and whites were also convinced that Jones had healing powers or that at least he had a great capacity to read people's minds. Robert Paul, a tall black man in his late 20s, joined shortly after he got out of Vietnam because Jones presumably cured his kidney ailment. "I figured the man had powers," Paul said. "I just had to go with him."

Tim Carter, 31, raised a Catholic, bitter and confused after "killing for Christ" in Vietnam ("There's a hell of a lot of brainwashing in America, too," he says defensively), was visiting a friend who knew of Jones. When Tim looked at a picture of Jones giving the peace sign, "I got this incredible jolt from the base of my spine right to my head. It was like the picture reached out. I got this incredible rush. I vowed that from that point on the thing I had to do was find this man Jim Jones." At his first Peoples Temple meeting, Carter felt that Jones read his mind. "It was like I'd known him all my life, forever—like I was coming home. I decided for myself that this was Christ incarnate. He would say, 'You know who I am.'"

Many others felt that Jones saved them from a life of crime, drug addiction, alcoholism, prostitution or aimless drifting through the nether reaches of American society. As Mike Carter explained, many were "people who just didn't have much in life." One ex-addict, ex-alcoholic told Tim Carter, "If I wasn't here, I'd be all fucked up. I'd be in jail, in the hospital or have an overdose." The addicts had simply picked up a new "Jones"—Rev. Jim.

Still others were young whites, even some nearing middle age, who either were politically committed to peace and to ending racism or else were searching for some kind of social commitment. There were a few professionals as well as a smattering of the people who have more typically joined the cults of the '70s: young whites from affluent homes lacking much love or purposeful work. They were in revolt against American materialism and, like Mike Carter, lapped up Jim Jones' tirades about how every bite of a McDonald's hamburger oppresses the poor of the world even further.

Finally at Jonestown there was another large group of varying ages: the children and other relatives of older members who had joined Peoples Temple years before. Many of the Jonestown residents in their 20s had been coming to Jones' services since they were children or early teens. Other kids were born into the cult. Some of these families had joined up with Jones in the Midwest or early in Ukiah and were heirs to a rural, border-state tradition of Holiness churches.

**T**HE COMMON IDEOLOGY WAS "HUMANITARIANISM." That could bind together those who were primarily religious with those primarily political. Each conveniently ignored parts of Jones' preachings. "I became involved in everything with the group—bake sales, sewing circles, everything a church does," Edith Bogue said. "It was really a nice homey thing. I always had a lot of extra children to take care of, too. I don't understand political stuff. I don't like it. So I just ignored it. If there was an election and he said to vote for somebody, I'd vote for him."

The extreme ideology of service and sacrifice was also a way for Jones to make members feel guilty about satisfying any needs of their own. Think of the starving blacks in South Africa, he would say;



*Leslie Wilson, of the Peoples Temple, is seen here participating in the funeral of a devotee on an airstrip of Jonestown, Guyana (C. Galt).*

think of the tortured Chileans. Why should you have more clothes, food or luxuries?

The Peoples Temple provided purpose, meaning, community, salvation (with subsequent dependence on Jones), access to his special psychic, strategic or organizational powers, and an opportunity to follow and emulate a man who was so sensitive, loving and kind that he must be good—a man who claimed to be the reincarnation of Buddha, Jesus, The Bab, Emancipator, Alexander the Great, Father Divine and Lenin. Close followers were also flattered to be identified as reincarnations of such worthies as the apostle Peter or Lenin's wife, Krupskaya (Marceline Jones, his wife).

Jones claimed to be from an advanced evolutionary plane. He returned—like the bodhisattvas or Jesus—to save these followers, all of whom had been with him in some other life and all of whom had been too selfish in past lives to escape the cycle of death and rebirth.

Once drawn in to the Temple, people underwent a process similar in form to that used by other cults, such as the Moonies or the Children of God. Dr. Harold A. A. Sutherland, chief of psychiatry at the College of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey, and a student and expert of cult techniques that Jones used to create a group identity that superseded individual identity, isolation from family and friends (and, in the jungle, from all other human society), exhaustion, repetition of extreme and pervasive threats and the humiliation and shaming of members.

People turned over not only all of their money and property but also jewelry, passports and other identification. If anyone kept personal photos they were publicly laughed at.

Very few letters written by Jonestown residents were ever mailed and few were delivered. Also, as soon as new people arrived, they were told they could never leave again.

The long, hard, hot work days, usually seven days a week, followed by extremely long evening meetings and short nights of very crowded and not very private sleep made people much more willing to accept whatever they were told.

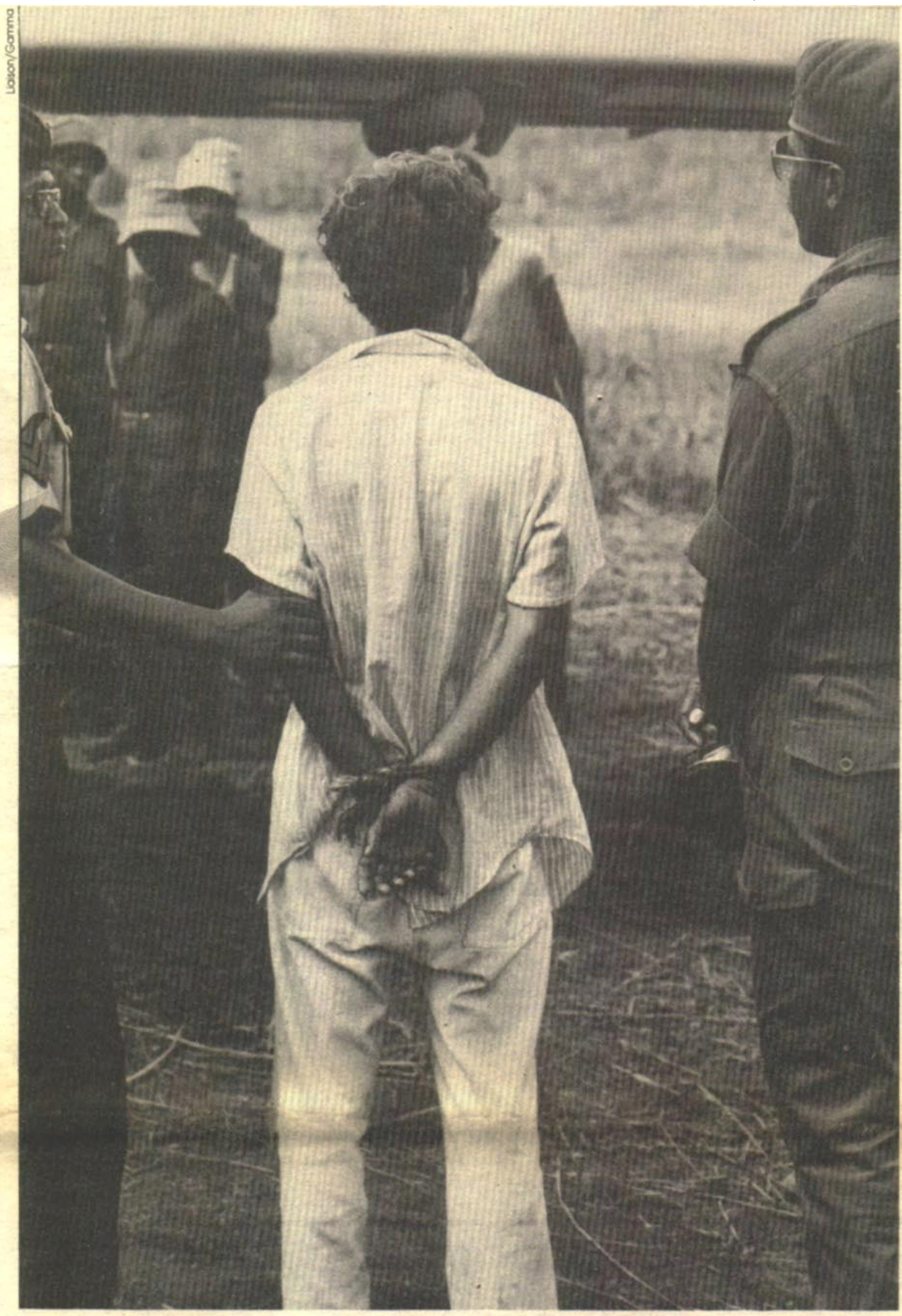
Jones was particularly adept at inventing threats. First, he could read anyone's mind so that even private thoughts were known. Then there was an extensive camp discipline system: a roughly 40-member security force that had access to the camp's arsenal, beatings—often by a group of seniors with their canes, by a group of karate experts, or by relatives—water torture, a sensory deprivation chamber, an "extended care unit" where "incorrigibles" were kept heavily drugged, sentences to the "public service unit," a hard labor crew stigmatized with reddish-orange hats. Such punishment was necessary, Prokes says, because so many of the people in the community were still "acting out" their old criminal mentality. When people were called "on the platform" since last May, however, they were unlikely to be beaten but rather subjected to public shaming.

If anyone tried to leave, Jones warned that they would encounter giant poisonous snakes and 17-foot tigers, hostile Amerindians and Guyanese Defense Forces, or Guyanese government and American embassy officials ready to send them back.

Jones even used his metaphysics to define his life and death boundaries of the cult. Anyone who committed individual suicide—a method of escape a few reportedly tried—would regress 500 lifetimes in the cycle of rebirth. But mass, "revolutionary" suicide to avoid destruction of the cult by enemies would guarantee escape from the cycle to a higher plane of being.

Then there was, of course, The Conspiracy: defectors aided by right-wing wealth and the CIA were trying to destroy Jonestown. In particular, Tim and Grace Stoen were trying to recover her six-year-old son John.

Since Jones forbade all close parent-child ties, it is fittingly ironical that his fanatical attachment to John-John, whom he claimed to have fathered, was a major cause of his undoing. Jones had used his influence with the Guyanese government to block issuance of an arrest warrant. He obtained such clout by backing Prime Minister Forbes Burnham's referendum giving him extraordinary powers, by having aides cultivate close ties with the government (including an affair between one woman and the Guyanese ambassador to the U.S.), and by providing the government a model for hinterland settlement and a claim on border territory disputed with Venezuela. Despite such influence, Jones was afraid to go to Georgetown or elsewhere for medical aid, and his isolation contributed to his siege mentality and the eventual suicide.



**J**ONESTOWN WAS SUPPOSED TO BE A model communist village. Jones had long discarded most of his religious appeal, declaring that there was no god and that the Bible was fit only for toilet paper—which, according to one report, was its use in Jonestown. After moving to Jonestown in late June 1977, in anticipation of the unfavorable article to appear a month later in *New West*, Jones also stopped his faith healing, which caused a few of his followers to believe that he may have lost his powers.

With growing external criticism and lawsuits and with the expanded difficulties at Jonestown as hundreds of followers arrived, Jones became more obsessed with "structure," the term used for his totalitarian rule. "People who couldn't accept 'structure' were 'anarchists' and lowest on the totem pole," Tina Bogue Turner, 22, said. "They were selfish, inconsiderate capitalists and they better get their shit together or nobody would like them. Being called an anarchist was the worst thing that could happen."

Jones reinforced the "structure" continually. Throughout the day the camp's loud speakers would blare messages from Jones, mainly his version of the news, with special emphasis on physical oppression, torture and death connected with political struggles. Toward the end his voice was frequently slurred and slow.

"There were messages all day and most of the night," Edith Bogue recalled, "even while you tried to sleep—just news, book reviews. He would start out with news but it would be interspersed with sermons: 'How can you be so horrible? How can you be so selfish? All you want is to go back to the U.S. and eat hamburgers and pay taxes to build napalm to burn skin off babies or build fragmentation bombs.' He said if you ever spent a dime on taxes, you should feel guilty. Then he would say what a kind, loving father he was, how he would die for us, how he would let them tear his eyes out for us.

"There would be a break of maybe half an hour and it would start all over again. He'd repeat the same tapes. He kept you so exhausted you couldn't remember anything, so he had to repeat them over and over for you to do well on the tests he gave."

Frequently he'd begin a "sex tirade," she said, "and tell for four or five hours how bad sex was. He'd say it was selfish, self-motivated, that you were only having sex with yourself, that's what you see in the other. Men don't like women; they like men. Women don't like men; they like women. If you were in a relationship, you were not with the cause. You'd want to spend time with the relationship and not work in the fields. 'I've never seen it fail. Someone gets in a relationship and their work falls off.'"

Suddenly, with the painful shock of recognition many of the escapees have experienced these past weeks, she said, "Oh, my god. How could we be so crazy? I should have been killed out there, I'm so crazy. Anybody who reads this will think we were the craziest people in the world. It was like watching a kaleidoscope. You'd never know what you were thinking. You'd think he was insane, and then you'd think you were insane for thinking he was insane."

The guilt, self-hatred and confusion that she continues to feel were central to the support of the "structure" at Jonestown. Ultimately the best enforcement of the structure came from people's repression of themselves.

Although "everybody messed around to every extent" sexually, according to Leslie Wilson, 21, sex and, particularly, intimate, trusting relationships were hampered. People were disciplined for not going before the "relationship committee" to get approval of starting an affair. Jones' attempts to undermine family and marital ties worked remarkably well: spouses, lovers, parents and children were afraid to talk with each other about their doubts for fear they would be turned in.

There was virtually no privacy. The cabins were so crowded it was hard even to whisper secrets, and sex—when fatigue did not rule it out—was noisily



public. Since there was a strict rule against gossiping, grapevine communications were also shut off. For those who believed Jones could really read minds, there was no refuge at all.

Communication at the "people's rallies" was almost entirely one-way. Jones' news broadcasts that started the evening portrayed a horrific U.S.: Klan lynchings in the street, hamburger at \$8 a pound. Jonestown residents did not see newspapers or magazines unless they were part of the trusted few who went out on Temple business, and new recruits were ordered not to discuss events in the U.S., for fear of contaminating Jones' irreality.

**I**N THE FINAL MONTHS THE "NEWS" WAS followed by language lessons, mainly Russian. (The first phrase they learned was, "Thank you, Dad." Jones urged followers to call him "Dad," and commanded them to be always grateful.) Jones was planning to take his colony to the Soviet Union, since he did not think the Burnham government was strong enough to shield him.

Then Jones—or, since he began to appear less frequently, his wife or son Johnny—would review the "warnings" and "praises" for the day. (Praises were given for turning in offenders or working overtime.) A warning, particularly if contested, could be drawn out into a several hour public humiliation as the offender was called "on the platform." The themes were predictable: the person on the platform and the residents generally were berated for not being guilty enough, for being elitists or anarchists, for causing Dad pain or not showing proper gratitude, for not suffering with the oppressed of the world, for being traitors, for selfishness or for racism, sexism or bourgeois tendencies. Blacks who wanted to leave would be vilified as Uncle Toms or Aunt Janes.

Yet he would always shift ground at various points to insist that poor, suffering Dad, on the verge of death, carrying the responsibilities on his shoulders of bringing communism to the world, hated by people for whom he'd done so much—that he still loved them all very much, that he was a kind, warm and generous Dad, that it hurt him to have to discipline them but it was for their own good.

Reduced to infantile position, deprived of legitimate outlet for their anger, publicly shamed and made to feel guilty for betraying the cause, the offender would then have to accept whatever punishment was meted out by saying, "Thank you, Dad."

A further twist in the weakening of the individual ego came with "self analysis." These letters addressed to Dad might be requested once every few months.

"You were supposed to write and demoralize your-

self, tell how you wasted money back in the States on hamburgers and cars and cokes," Jim Bogue, 46, one of the earliest Jonestown settlers, said. "You were supposed to write how he was so great and how you didn't work up to capacity. You were supposed to tell the negative side of your attitudes."

The letters were groveling and self-accusatory with their apologies about elitism or not feeling sufficiently guilty, but through them it is evident that Jones faced a continual struggle to maintain the repressive apparatus that he had established. For example, Jones urged People to confess their sin of being "ruled by food" and then promise to do everything possible to avoid such an error. So when the next meal of rice, gravy and greens appeared, the individual would feel guilty at being so weak, so selfish, so capitalist to think for a moment about a McDonald's burger. Jones reinforced such feelings with "news" that corporations in the U.S. were now deliberately poisoning the food and that they should be grateful to Dad (an important theme of self-analysis) that they had pure, healthy food. (The next issue of *IN THESE TIMES* will print some as-yet-unpublished self-analysis letters and discuss what they reveal about Jonestown.)

The tyrannical "structure" of the "family" of Jonestown was reproduced in the minds of its members. The isolation of the community and of the individuals within the camp, the blockage of all escape routes and the crusade against individual identity or self-esteem (typically attacked as "elitism"), the pervasive terror, the distorted news, the public ridicule and the personal complicity of members in developing a deep sense of guilt and of dependence on "Dad"—all this led to a creation of a sense of reality more in keeping with Jones' teachings than with people's independent perceptions. Members would, of course, deliberately lie to defend Jonestown, but many of them may have truly seen reality as Jones told them, to. It is possible to see the gradual change in the survivors according to the degree they have become "contaminated" in Dr. Sukhdeo's words, with another reality outside the cult: the ones most inside, most under Jones' continuing domination, for example, deny that there was ever any physical punishment at Jonestown and still show "inappropriate smiles" in discussing the tragedy of their "paradise."

During times when cultures are disrupted and people feel that they are powerless to act effectively to put their world together in a deliberate, rational fashion,

*The Evans family is the only one to have survived the Jonestown suicides and murders intact. The children are ages 5, 7 and 11.*

they frequently turn to leaders who claim supernatural powers and promise utopian visions. Many such movements or cults in the past, from peasant wars of the middle ages to Levellers during the rise of capitalism, from Ghost Dances of the Great Plains Indians to the "cargo cults" of Melanesia, have an egalitarian, cooperative, radical character that makes them seem kin to socialist ideals. Yet they always suffer from a faulty picture of the world and how change can be brought about. Usually the followers are cut loose from old social moorings, not yet firmly engaged in a new one, feel oppressed and have been stymied in previous efforts to establish self-esteem, meaning and control in their lives.

With the decline of the corporate liberal consensus of the decades after World War II and the frustration of the new forces for change in the U.S. during the late '60s, it was not surprising that cults of various types began to develop and appeal to those desperate for meaning and effective power—poor blacks, frustrated middle-class humanitarians, followers of marginal churches, drifting youth disillusioned with bourgeois vacuity in the case of Peoples Temple.

Perhaps Jones was purely an opportunist who saw "socialism" as a means of rallying a band of the discontented to carry him to fascist power, as Al Mills argues. Perhaps Jones really did believe in socialism, but had a psychotic faith only in himself—not the people—as capable of bringing in a new order. If so, his decision from the start contradicted his supposed goal.

Jones' success in winning support from much of the left in California, despite his reliance on undemocratic, unprincipled methods and on "mind control" should make many leftists more cautious about messianic charlatans in the future, even if they mouth the right slogans and deliver people. It should also lead many to rethink the relationship between the means used for achieving change and the kind of socialism to be realized. It may also raise new questions about the legitimacy of various methods of political persuasion, including some used by countries or groups that claim to be socialist.

There is another lesson in the prison-paradise disaster, which is no less important just because it was expressed—as in many previous messianic movements—in an irrational way. Jonestown was a largely black colony and most of the people there, however misguided, thought that they were building an egalitarian, cooperative world. If they had not believed in that, they never would have become "mind control" victims. They were so despairing of real change in the U.S. that they chose to commit mass suicide. We may think they were crazy for doing so, but when everything else had been accounted for, we should not completely forget that tortured message. ■





## EDITORIAL

## The perversion of our virtues

The Jonestown horror is one of those "small" incidents that illuminate an age and that so deeply affect the human mind that no tendency of thought can remain untouched.

It has drawn liberals, conservatives, radicals, socialists, the religious and non-religious alike, to reflect more deeply on American society, modern times in general, human nature, and the ambiguities and contradictions within their own beliefs.

The People's Temple was in a sense an all-American affair—led by Jim Jones, the quintessential American name, a man from small town Mid-America, brought up on the Bible, the American idea of fair-play, and imbued with the "can-do" spirit. It started in "God's Country" and pioneered its way to a "new frontier," first to California, as in olden days, then to the wilderness of Guyana, as in biblical times.

It appealed to Americans of the most diverse persuasions: to the conservative's yearning for initiative and authority imposing order and discipline; to the liberal's desire for helping people and rehabilitating individuals without drastic social change; to the radical's hope for an alternative community; to the socialist's dream of a classless society cured of racist and sexist divisions; to the Christian's vision of salvation in love and a transcendent cause; to the atheist's trust in a humanitarian here and now; to the ascetic's longing for self sacrifice; and to almost everyone's hope of finding meaning and purpose in life.

The People's Temple refracted all these American virtues—and ended in the monstrous vice of mass murder and suicide.

If from Jonestown we reassess the virtues we take for granted, and see that, whatever our ideological differences, our vices flow from the conflict and perversion of those virtues, we may come closer to recognizing the common humanity that inspires socialists as well as others.

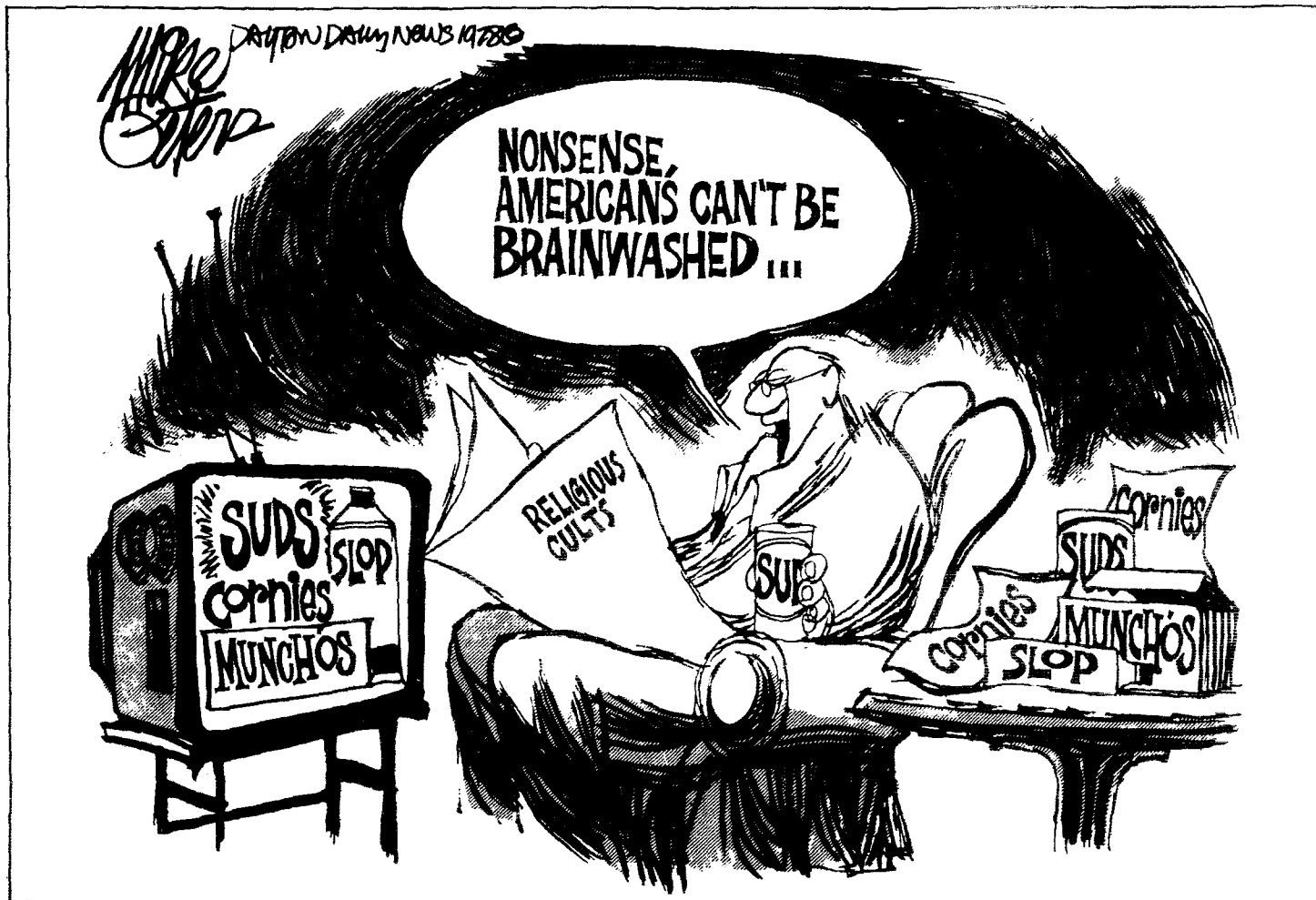
Perhaps this is why, for the most part, the media and politicians have not seized upon the macabre event in Guyana for partisan advantage—at least not yet while its searing impact still speaks to our inner doubts and better judgment. It cuts us all too deeply.

In this spirit, we will not here take up the ways in which the ills of capitalist society made a People's Temple possible. The media have traced at length such cult's roots in existing social and cultural conditions. Besides, it would only be a half-truth. (See David Moberg's report and analysis, pp. 11-14). Nor will we dismiss Jonestown as some "fascist" aberration and thereby disown its relevance to our own values and practices as leftists and socialists.

Too often those of us on the socialist left will support movements, such as the People's Temple, and overlook their undemocratic behavior, because we feel "they are on our side," or because we admire their claims to certainty, their determination, sincerity and dedication.

But in so doing, we abandon our principles of democracy and our view of the social relations we believe a socialist movement should be seeking to develop, for the sake of short-term advantages. We yield to manipulative temptation and embrace the idea that the ends justify the means. We betray our knowledge that ends and means are always interrelated and that we cannot achieve a socialist democracy through authoritarian—and sometimes criminal—shortcuts.

Supporting or uncritically ignoring authoritarian tendencies also accustoms us to acquiescing in a prevalent characteristic of bourgeois society: that of pitting



individuality and the integrity of conscience against society as if they were mutually exclusive. And that violates one of the important ideas of socialism—that a democratic society requires strong individuality, exercised in people's freedom of association and thought. Or, as Lewis Mumford once put it, a strong community requires strong egos. A "community" of conformist, unthinking people is what Marx referred to as a *false community*.

Bourgeois society strongly identifies individuality with pecuniary success and acquisitiveness, which subordinates individuality to the dictates of the market, the organization and peer prejudice.

Leftist support for authoritarian or cult-like tendencies only helps strengthen the individual-against-society, a dichotomy that socialists should be seeking to overcome.

More important, such support reflects and nourishes the all too frequent adoption of authoritarian values and cult-like habits within socialist organizations.

The parallels between characteristics of the cults and those of many left and socialist groups past and present are apparent:

- Fascination with organizational technique ("structure") at the sacrifice of

clearly stated and publicly debated principles.

- Deification of a doctrine as an eternal canon, to which the "sinful" world must adjust or be damned, and reducing thought to sloganeering and static formulas, cutting it off from studying the historical world.

- The idea that "the people" are "not ready" for the doctrine, making a democratic route to socialism virtually impossible, and ensuring elitist authoritarianism.

- Perversion of "collectivism" and "self-criticism" from true collegiality based on the honest exchange of views and the encouragement of diversity in gaining greater knowledge, into a bludgeon for smothering the individual's critical judgment as well as the group's right to hear it, and for enforcing conformity and a blind faith in a leader (or leaders).

- The practice of acting and speaking in public at variance with the beliefs held in private or within the group, thereby making socialist ideas into specialized or occult doctrines accessible only to the initiated.

- Segregation of members from the "outside" world, instilling fear and distrust of "outsiders," and defining society as something evil to be destroyed rather

than as the source of any possible regenerative ideas and movements.

- Idealization and exclusive identification with imagined "allies" external to one's own people (the "Third World," China, the Soviet Union, Cuba, etc.).

- Perversion of the idea that "the personal is the political" from a reasonable observation of the social character of personality, into an authoritarian weapon against privacy, dissent, variability, personal judgment, and critical thought.

All these characteristics and others are to be found among us socialists—as well as among those of other political and religious persuasion. That suggests we share with others a common humanity. But it also suggests that if we are indeed committed to changing our society into a democratic community guaranteeing liberty and equality, then we should be equally committed to confronting and overcoming these characteristics: to hold our "virtues" up continually to critical judgment.

If we don't grasp the implications of the People's Temple horror as signifying the need to quicken those critical efforts, we may consign ourselves to the treadmill of "keeping up with the Joneses," and Guyana's jungle may be closer than we think to the streets of America.

## The seven percent solution

The salary increases ranging from 30 to 60 percent that Ohio, Illinois, and Cook County (Chicago) politicians voted to bestow upon themselves highlight the double standard characteristic of income distribution in the U.S.

The 7 percent wage guideline now being pressed upon working people by the Carter administration is obviously not accepted by the wealthy, the powerful, and the famous as applying to themselves. They expect their salaries, capital gains, dividends and tax breaks to raise their incomes well above the inflation rate and as high as "the market will bear." The "7 percent solution" is for everyone else.

When baseball star Pete Rose negotiated a 200 percent (\$535,000) pay increase, from \$265,000 to \$800,000 per year, he said he only wanted recognition, at the going market price, of his performance

in his craft. He wanted, that is, no more than all the other rich, powerful, and famous routinely expect as their birthright from the market system. The Ohio and Illinois politicians want and expect the same. Don't they work hard at their jobs, they asked. Doesn't their important contribution to society warrant the price they demand?

But let a steel worker, a sanitation worker, a teacher, a machinist, or a bus driver ask the same questions and they are roundly denounced as perpetrators of inflation. They are told the market does not value them as highly as a corporate executive, a baseball player, a rock star, or a politician. Which says something about the market's priorities and their incongruity with the priorities of a humane and equitable society.

The administration's inflation fighters,

including the President, are furious with the Ohio and Illinois politicians' pay raises—not because of their size (chief inflation battler Alfred E. Kahn said nothing about Pete Rose), but because of their embarrassing timing—and from politicians who set a powerful public example for better or worse.

If a Democratic President can't count on the faithful in Cook County—the Peter's Rock of his own party—to keep the veil over the market system's inequities, whom can he count on? As one unidentified Democratic U.S. Senator was quoted to say by the *New York Times* (Dec. 6), "No one any longer believes that anyone is on the level." The politicians' pay hikes all too publicly confirm what everybody already believes. No wonder Kahn and the other Carter administration statesmen called it an outrage.



# LETTERS

## OPEN THE BOOKS

**T**HE HORRID EVENTS IN GUYANA were a shock to America, bringing a spiritual crisis to the American people and a political crisis to the left.

Not only was the People's Temple a fascist organization, led by a Hitlerite, but it came out of the left in the tradition of Major Mosely and Mussolini.

That such leading left political figures as Charles Garry and Mervyn Dymally were exposed to reports of child abuse, kidnapping, assault and fraud, yet turned a deaf ear is further witness to the crisis. Much of their error, like some of that of Jones, lies in "communist vanity," which, as Lenin said, "is the greatest problem socialists face."

This Dachau must be discussed at every level and in every corner of the left. And some members of the left have some explaining to do. If we can at times call on corporations to open their books to see if they are making profits, we can certainly here ask Mark Lane and Charles Garry to open their books showing what their relationship to this sage of torture, Naziism and infanticide was.

—Don and Jane Stevens  
Custer, S.D.

## UNTHINKABLE

**T**HE JONESTOWN MASSACRE MUST again remind us of how fragile democracy is. Democracy demands that we think for ourselves, that we participate in the decision-making process, that we accept some responsibility for our lives.

When people give up their democratic rights—whether to a party, a church, a cult or sect, or to apathy—then the base is laid for "follow-the-leader" to whatever mad end. When people choose to do what they are told rather than to think and struggle, with its concomitant doubt and pain, then democracy gives way to voluntary totalitarianism.

The People's Temple tragedy conjures up memories of German's who "only followed orders"; of My Lai; of Russian revolutionaries confessing to crimes never committed against the omnipotent state.

If we learn nothing else, we should relearn that democracy—however slow and flawed—takes all of us to work, and that the alternative is, like the mass murders/suicides in Guyana, utterly unthinkable.

—Al Lannon  
San Francisco

## ASTROLOGY AND JONESTOWN

**L**ARRY REMER'S "FROM LEFT POLITICS to Mass Suicide"—is no more flawed than most journalistic revelations. That one of the best leftist commentaries falls into the same semantic cliché insofar as it does not distinguish between (self-censorship?) "cults" and the (official) "religions" is apparent. My point is: there is no genuine difference. All religions are cults. All religions are suicidal.

We are aware that schools, from gilded snottoses of Harvard to Mississippi boondockery, have nothing to do with education. But there is a lack of knowledge that schools are corporate extensions of official religions. All religions are suicidal, are sado-masochistic (*Hustler* mag), as per mythic figure of a sick illiterate Jesus and his suicide-murder on a piece of tree. The great spiritual leader of the Indians, Tecumseh, approached by the missionaries, remarked, "How can you believe in a god-somebody when you murdered him?" William James, Frazer, Freud, and so many others have

all described the process. Psychoanalysis is, basically, the reverse face of religion, emasculating you to a mythic "norm." And High Priest Freud denouncing "other" religions as forms of neuroses? Even excommunicating renegade disciples, like William Reich!

The Jim Joneses, the Father Divines, the Father Coughlins, the Billy Grahams, the "Moonies," the Martin Luthers, the Yukio Mishimas, the Hare Krishnas, all the Jesus jumpers and bible bangers are in love with death. Any visit to a Catholic Church is a creepy experience, a worship of erotic death. And all those ill, feeble old men electing one of their "own" stumbling, dark-age dead...ah!

Karl Menninger's *Man Against Himself* is still pertinent. And what the hell is the demarcation betwixt astrology and fundamental baptist "born againers"?

—David Stalzer  
Rhinebeck, N.Y.

## CONSIDER THIS

**T**HE JONESTOWN TRAGEDY PROVIDES urgent lessons we need to learn.

First, the rantings of fanatics should not be ignored. Sun Myung Moon's statement that "America will suffer a great holocaust if it doesn't accept Moon" should be taken seriously. So also, should his threat that those who stand up against him will "come down and die—Many will die."

When a strong armed cult conspires with a foreign dictator, such as Park Chung Hee, who believes that America is betraying him, the results should be considered doubly serious.

The U.S. has spent billions for defense, for police protection, and in aid to foreign dictators who are supposed to be our friends; but when you come right down to it, we have no security, and we ought to figure out what's wrong before it's too late.

There are things that it would be nice for religious people to reconsider in light of the Jonestown tragedy. For instance, Jesus said: "Give all your wealth to the poor and follow me" not: "Give all your wealth to me and follow me." Also, Jesus refused to let Peter be his bodyguard.

We must figure out what we are doing wrong. What is missing from America, and from the world in general, that makes so many people susceptible to fanaticism. And, finally, we must realize that although revenge may be sweet, measured reasonable attempts at justice will bring a lot more security.

—Richard Kanegis  
Philadelphia

## SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

**I** WAS DISTURBED AND ANNOYED BY Nancy Lieber's overly optimistic assessment of Social Democracy in Sweden (*ITT*, Oct. 25). Lieber, who is "more than ever convinced that Sweden is an

exception to the social democratic rule of merely reforming capitalism," seems to think that the Social Democrats during their 44 years of uninterrupted government in Sweden made substantial strides towards an egalitarian, democratic socialist society. And they will make great strides towards industrial democracy when they return to office.

Let me point out a few of the things that Lieber has ignored. The Swedish economy (as Lieber noted) is overwhelmingly privately-owned; it is dominated by a handful of large corporations to a greater degree than the British or American; 24 percent of the large private companies are subsidiaries of foreign corporations; 1 percent of shareholders own 50 percent of share capital; large shareholders dominate the boards of directors; the Swedish class and occupational structures are very similar to those of Britain or the U.S.; upward social mobility is no greater in Sweden than it is in other Western industrialized nations; equality of educational opportunity is no greater than in Britain or the U.S.; distribution of income in Sweden is slightly more unequal before taxes than it is in the U.S. or Britain, and slightly more equal after taxes; and there has been no significant move towards a more equal income distribution in Sweden since World War II. Sweden's wealth distribution is more equal than others. One percent of Swedes own about 15 percent of the wealth compared with the 1 percent in Britain who own 33 percent. However, it is not clear that the Social Democrats had anything to do with this because we do not have distribution figures before they came to office in 1932. Furthermore, in 1945, 1 percent owned 16 percent of the wealth.

After 44 years of almost uninterrupted stay in office one would expect a better record from socialists. Eastern European countries have a much better record in terms of equality. The problem of social democratic governments, then, seems to be that they are not prepared sharply to challenge the basic institutions of capitalism, but only to enact limited reforms within a capitalist structure that restricts what they can do. They must sooner or

later submit to the rationality of capitalism. I am not saying that there has been nothing the left can learn from the Swedish experience but the evidence strongly suggests that an egalitarian, democratic socialist society cannot be built without sweeping nationalization, democratic planning and industrial democracy. The Swedish Social Democrats have not undertaken such a program. And the results of their reformism reveal the limitations of such an approach.

—Paul Stevenson  
University of Winnipeg  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

## RENAISSANCE? IN THE '30S?

**I** LIKED DAVID TALBOT'S "WHEN YOU Coming Back, Red Writer?" (*ITT*, Nov. 15). However, the word "humanist" might be more accurate than "leftist," for this is what Jane Fonda and others he mentions really are. This takes nothing away from them; it is these humanists who carry a glimmer of hope that was handed to them and which they in turn must keep alive, even if quietly, to pass on to others.

In the mid-'50s, when McCarthyism raged, the late John Howard Lawson had to give lectures to earn his living. At one of these lectures he was asked in a First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles audience, "Should progressive writers continue writing for the commercial media in difficult periods?" His answer was an emphatic, "Yes."

Though I fail to see much progressiveness in the works mentioned by Talbot in his interesting article, I did feel a humanism and that's important. Those works do carry a pilot light that could some day light a torch.

In a future time, when the American people become the owners of the communications media, then the cultural/political/ethical Renaissance of the '30s will return.

—David Seidman  
Los Angeles

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## DIALOG

# Boston Tea Party of 1773 and the Great American Taxpayer's Revolt of 1978

By John Rossen

IN THIS YEAR OF THE GREAT AMERICAN TAX REVOLT, THE 205th anniversary of the Boston Tea Party on Dec. 16 ought to have special meaning to the American people, especially to the left. In fact, to help overcome its sectarianism and isolation, the left ought to promote Dec. 16 as the great American national holiday—a holiday of even greater import than Independence Day, for the latter merely marked the formalization of the separation from Britain, while the Boston Tea Party was the first planned and organized sign of rebellion that had been building up through the 1760s.

It was the first open challenge to the power of the monarchy—and of that first great corporate monopoly, the East India Company, the great-great-granddaddy of today's giant multinational corporate monopolies.

Eight years before the Tea Party the

protest against the Stamp Act was an impassioned spontaneous response. Now under the direction of Sam Adams, the Revolution's most fiery and brilliant propagandist and agitator, the Tea Party was well planned and rehearsed as a military operation. It was pure 18th Century Guer-

rilla Theater, and on the highest of political levels.

The enemy had a well-planned strategy, too. When the Royal power and its Parliament (many of whose members held shares in the East India Company) granted the E.I.C. both a subsidy and a monopoly over the tea trade, they knew the price of tea to the colonies would actually drop below that of tea smuggled in from other countries, and they confidently expected little or no protest from the American colonials. Their expectation was that by getting a foot in the door with the tea tax, the precedent would be set for future taxes on a wide range of products the colonials would have to import.

Not the least important feature of the Tea Party was that it was carried out by working men recruited by Adams from the roustabouts, shipbuilders and caulkers of the Boston waterfront. This initiative in openly flouting royal authority and trashing corporate-monopoly property, inspired similar rebellious acts throughout the colonies. Fully conscious of the significance of the Tea Party action, Adams promptly activated the Committees of Correspondence and sent couriers out on horseback throughout the country to bring news of the Tea Party to patriots, and to ask for their support. New York, Philadelphia and other cities quickly responded with their own versions of the Tea Party, in some cases burning already unloaded crates of tea, in others, dumping tea chests into the harbors, and in one case even forcing a ship owner to burn his own tea-laden vessel.

Everywhere throughout the 13 colonies town meetings were assembled and support resolutions passed unanimously, condemning the East India Company and expressing thanks to Sam Adams and his fighting Sons of Liberty.

The great pity is that in 1978 we permit-

ted a Tory, Jarvis, to preempt the leadership of the popular protest against outrageous taxation.

The left has concrete evidence of the importance of the American Revolutionary tradition. Just five years ago, during the official Bicentennial of the Tea Party in Boston, the Peoples Bicentennial Commission and the New American Movement set a grand example of how to draw upon that revolutionary event of 200 years ago to further the struggle for social change today. They mobilized over 50,000 New Englanders to take over the official observance (including the occupation of the replica of the vessel) and turned it into the greatest Impeach Nixon and anti-oil-monopoly demonstration of that period.

Those of us who consider ourselves the true inheritors of the revolutionary tradition of the radical founders of this nation should be the first and the most enthusiastic in our expression of thanks to those Boston "Mohawks"—and we should use their example to inspire the people of our country to renewed struggles against the King Georges and today's monopolies.

John Rossen is secretary of the New Patriot Alliance, which is holding an observance of the Tea Party in Chicago on Friday, Dec. 15, at the Center Theater of De Paul University, 25 E. Jackson, Chicago. The meeting will protest the recent pay hikes of the Illinois Assembly, Cook County Supervisors and Chicago City Council. Heather Booth, director of the Midwest Academy and of the Citizen-Labor Energy Coalition; Robert Creamer of the Illinois Public Action; Carol Mosely Braun, state-representative-elect from the 24th legislative district; Sidney Lens, author and peace leader; and Dr. Quentin Young, Medical Director of Cook County Hospital, will speak. Admission is "one tea bag—new or used."

WILLIAM A. WILLIAMS

## Hoffman's flawed vision of a new world order without Yankee primacy

THE WRINKLED GURUS OF the Cold War have unrolled their Bean sleeping bags and are back in business. They found another blizzard in capitalism's current economic troubles and are making their standard pitch for ever greater defense appropriations. Their irrationality is a wonder to behold. Spending for social welfare is inflationary, but writing it on the cuff for bombs is prudence itself.

Consider only the following items: Robert Strausz-Hupe's three-part cry of alarm in *TV Guide*; Joseph Alsop's trip in from the farm to deliver a dire warning of a new ice age in *Newsweek*; *Fortune*'s hysterical cover article Nov. 20; Moyulhan's most recent collection of tantrums; and (a bit more balanced) Aram Bakshian's review of U.S. intervention in Russia in the *Wall*



was worth your promotion (even your job) and income to challenge such snake oil truths.

As John Kenneth Galbraith made clear while at Harvard, and even more pointedly after leaving The Place, the politics and ego trips of the retirement home for child prodigies subverts the intellectual pizzazz of all but a gutsy few. Most of those who get there use it as a sea anchor for *Who's Who*. But Stanley Hoffman is an incipient Galbraith and I wish him all the best.

In Hoffman's most recent book, *Primacy or World Order*, the informed reader will not discover much that is new on the origins and nature of the Cold War. Hoffman offers a useful periodization (1946-1968, followed by "the Kissinger Cycle," 1969-1976), and a debatable conception based on opposing the ideas of primacy and order. But the first section is very largely little more than a discreet and genteel version of the work of early revisionists—without, of course, citing any of their labors. Even so, don't knock it. Lefties should not bicker about credit lines.

Part Two, "The Nightmare of World Order," is mostly blah. It runs from page 103 through page 195; and I find, after three readings, that I have marked all of 20 pages. Hoffman cannot break free of the isolationist-internationalist conceptual trap. He recognizes that "there is no world community" (let alone a global village), perceives the reality of empire in all the talk about "interdependence," and says candidly that "the free market system" hinges on "the will of a dominant economy."

All very good. But then he says, in a bit of Emersonian logic, that "the true logic of radical reform leads to centralization." Next, four pages later, he denies that community means "spreading and intensifying interdependence deliberately." The New Left is irrational? Hoffman then concludes his running debunking of Kissinger with the somber advice to "delink" global issues and problems. Let us be generous. We are back to order defined as decentralization: "in trying to move the international realm in the direction of domestic political systems." Very new profundities. Such as live and let live.

Along the way, Hoffman uses his knowledge of the struggle for control of the sea in a refreshing and exciting way. He knows—or senses—what is going on in the battle for that frontier. He might well write a fine book about that issue. For that matter, he might better have written that one than this one. Someone, someday, will tell us about the essence of imperialism in a book about the conceptions of the sea.

Section III, "An American Policy For World Order," begins with great verve. He quotes Carter's classically imperial remark that the U.S. seeks a "framework of peace...within which our own ideals gradually can become a global reality." My, my: how things have changed since William McKinley. Or, if you prefer, go back to Thomas Jefferson: "the world's best hope." Or to Abraham Lincoln: "the world's last best hope." The South finally found the key to victory: mimic the North.

Hoffman feeds off that insight, but can never break free of his Ivy League gentility and his conceptual limitations. He talks sophisticated conventional common sense, but by his own admission these are unconventional times. It is not enough to keep us out of another Vietnam. He knows all this, and his last sen-

tence is a very wise and moving invocation: "American intellectuals must keep trying, not to behave as if the world of power were the kingdom of power, but to enlighten the public and leaders about...the perils of politics-as-usual."

All very well. But there comes a time when you cannot reason with City Hall, let alone with the editors of *Foreign Affairs*. So we have in the end to give up order, let alone primacy, for life. I respect Hoffman's knowing that we are not wise enough for that truth, but I insist that it is our primary responsibility to speak that truth. There are ways to live and ways to die, and every so often a culture—as well as an individual—can integrate them into one magnificent truth. Hoffman reminds us on the left that we have that responsibility.

William A. Williams, president-elect of the Organization of American Historians, teaches history at Oregon State University, Corvallis. His latest book is *Americans in a Changing World*.

## Feminist humor?

Absolutely. Featured in the next two issues of **Cultural Correspondence**, humor and popular culture magazine of the left.

#8 (Fall-Winter, 1978): Naomi Weisstein's Humor-Detective Novel, its first chapter published here.

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**PRIMACY OR WORLD ORDER:**  
American Foreign Policy Since the  
Cold War  
Stanley Hoffman  
McGraw-Hill, New York, 1978

*Street Journal* Nov. 24. We can detect a modest division in the ruling class.

None of this is surprising. After all, Sen. Henry "Boeing" Jackson and various other dedicated and paranoid old men kept their mouths flapping even while Nixon and Kissinger were trying to drag them out of the Age of Crusades into the Heaven of Materialism. But things are a bit different now than they were back in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when it



# Housing

Continued from page 5.

economy in the post-Vietnam era. California's housing market is being buffeted by global economic forces that would not have impacted working and middle class families so drastically in days gone by. These forces include:

- Rampant speculation in California real estate, which is driving land prices through the roof.

From the frostbelt of the East, where the housing stock is dillapidated and the industrial base declining, capital has been flowing west. This year alone, New York state estimates that its banks have purchased nearly \$1 billion in California mortgages. Banks in other parts of the northeast and midwest are following suit.

International and multinational corporate profits are also California bound. One California bank estimates that the Arab world is recycling \$2 billion annually in petrodollars by investing them in California housing developments. On the corporate level, large multinationals are getting into real estate. One of the most profitable divisions of the giant Weyerhaeuser paper conglomerate is Pardee Construction, a Southern California home-builder. Then there's Phillip Morris with \$300 million in landholdings in Orange County: Mobil Oil recently purchased nearly 80,000 acres of raw land for more than \$280 million after a high stakes bidding game with several Chicago banks. And the list goes on.

The net result of this latter-day California land boom has been to send land prices skyrocketing.

Escalation in land costs has been the single biggest factor in the skyrocketing cost of housing. In 1974, when a single family home in California cost \$37,800, the land cost approximately \$8,000 to \$10,000 of the total. Today it's not uncommon for homesites with roads in and utilities connected to go for \$25,000, \$30,000 and more.

- The decline of the dollar on the international money markets.

The costs of energy and raw materials for home construction (cement, gypsum, lumber, etc.) has also been steadily rising. More significantly, the dollar's contractions have forced up interest rates, raising both builder financing costs and the cost of mortgages.

And tight credit has seriously impacted the rental market. Landlords are raising rents on newly purchased apartments and charging high rents in newly built ones to cover the cost of their monthly

payments. For beleaguered tenants, this has set off a seemingly unending spiral of rent hikes. In addition, since high rents are increasingly meeting tenant resistance, builders and financiers are becoming reticent to build apartments, preferring the high profits of home construction. This, in turn, causes vacancy levels to plunge and squeezes renters even harder.

- A constantly increasing stream of immigration to California. More than 750,000 people a year are still coming to California. They come from the beleaguered frostbelt to escape the cold, the dirt, the crime, and the bleak employment outlook of America's old industrial heartland. And they come from Latin America—primarily from Mexico—to seek relief from grinding poverty.

The inexorable pressure of immigration, some say, is stretching California's ecosystems to their limit. This is especially true in the South, which was little more than a desert before the California Aqueduct was built to bring in water from the north and the All America Canal began ferrying water from Colorado.

Several communities have already instituted construction moratoriums because local sewage capacity is insufficient to meet federal water quality guidelines. In San Diego County—one of the fastest growing regions—the projected cost of new sewage facilities to meet the area's expected growth by 1990 totals nearly half a billion dollars.

California's long-standing conflict between ecologists and development interests has taken on an increasingly populist, anti-corporate character as local environmental groups are increasingly butting up against corporate schemes to have the public finance services for developing areas.

But the "growth versus no growth" arguments that dominate local politics in rapidly developing areas like San Jose, Orange County and San Diego have a serious drawback: Without an economic alternative for those whose livelihoods are dependent upon growth, the progressive forces have been seriously handicapped in their efforts.

## Pending recession.

All the ingredients for a collapse in the market have been present for some time: rampant speculation, easy credit, and a steady drive by consumers to buy housing now—at any price—before it goes up even higher.

Banks and savings and loans have been practically giving mortgage money away so consumers can keep up with rising prices. Buyers are being given 30-year mortgages with "flexi" payments that increase with time. Down payments have

dropped as low as 3 percent in some cases, with second mortgages in the offing to make up the difference to the traditional level of 10 percent.

But by raising interest rates, Carter has effectively cut most middle and working class families off from entering the housing market. Monthly payments for an 11 or 11.5 percent mortgage are simply too high for most families to qualify for a loan.

Back in the halcyon days of cheap housing in the '60s, banks made strict requirements that a family spend no more than 25 percent of its income on shelter. Loan limits were computed accordingly. Then, when the housing crunch got severe, those limits were raised to 35 and even 40 percent. But Carter's action effectively mandates that monthly payments for the average new home in California—with 10 percent down—will come to at least \$1200, requiring an annual income of \$36,000 to qualify for a loan.

Returning for a moment to the Jaspers and their home in La Mesa, it's important to note that Randi's job—and their second income—stems from a CETA grant to the local community college district where she works in a counseling program. Carter has already declared that next year's federal budget will dramatically scale down public service employment jobs like Randi's. And, if the Jaspers lose Randi's income, they will have trouble holding on to their house on Dave's \$1250 monthly salary.

If the Jaspers can't make their payments, the bank will repossess the house, which will then be sold on the market, with the proceeds applied against the balance of their mortgage.

If their home is repossessed and put on the market, they stand to lose everything they own. If widespread unemployment brought housing prices down because nobody could afford to purchase a home, no matter what the cost, the Jaspers \$69,000 house might net only \$40,000 in a depressed market. The bank would take that money and apply it against the \$60,000 outstanding on their mortgage. Having lost their house and their equity interest in it, the Jaspers would still be liable to the bank for the \$20,000 balance on their loan. Their only solution would be bankruptcy. Millions of people lost their homes, farms, and property this way during the depression of the '30s.

## Radical economic restructuring.

To reverse these trends, according to Carey Lowe of the California Public Policy Center, would require radical changes in the rules of the housing market.

A housing expert, Lowe was a founding member of the CHAIN (the Califor-

nia Housing Action/Information Network) and is an activist with the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED).

"It's almost impossible to solve the problem," Lowe declares. "Not only is a programmatic approach difficult to formulate, but the political opposition to even mild measures would be formidable."

To reduce land costs, Lowe favors a freeze on land values and the forced sale of larger land holdings. Citing the precedent of the 160-acre limit on the size farm permitted to receive water from a federal irrigation project (a limit large corporate farmers have been fighting tooth and nail), Lowe notes that such divestiture could be mandated as a condition for new subdivisions receiving public services.

Interest rates, says Lowe, also have to be brought down either by a state bank lending public monies or by the sale of mortgage-backed state bonds. As a long-term solution, Lowe declares, union pension funds and public deposits are going to have to be used to finance low and moderate income housing. These funds today are mostly invested in the stock market and have taken a real beating in the present economy.

For renters, Lowe calls for the passage of Fair Rent measures similar to the one community groups are pushing in San Diego. The San Diego measure freezes rents when vacancies fall below 5 percent. But new construction is exempted and rent hikes to pass on cost increases are permitted if approved by a landlord-tenant board established in each community.

But the "formidable political opposition" Lowe points to is California's real estate lobby and banking lobby, who wield enormous clout in Sacramento and in local city governments. Real estate money greased the skids for the overwhelming passage of Prop. 13 last spring, and landlords' outspent proponents of rent relief 25-to-one in every local initiative. As for the banking lobby, they easily bottled up a bill in the last session of the state legislature to create a public bank and then financed a successful campaign to unseat the bill's sponsor, State Sen. John Dunlap (D-Sacramento).

The housing crisis has already turned state politics in California upside-down. Prop. 13 amply demonstrated the potential strength of homeowners; and burgeoning tenant insurgencies have forced a rent freeze in Los Angeles—the largest city in the state—and are putting tenant issues at the top of the political agenda for 1979. A struggle of epic proportions is looming and, if history is any teacher, the more resistance there is from the bankers and real estate interests, the more fundamental will be the changes that are forthcoming.

# "Let's do it"

Continued from page 3.

can't stop a grievance proceeding. But that depends on each individual contract. You have to fight it in each one."

Nicloy was one of two stewards who had not been invited to a breakfast hosted by the 406 executive committee. Coincidentally, the other is Doug Stroosnyder. The campaign was full of such coincidences.

"No, we weren't invited," Stroosnyder confirms with a shoulder shrug. "But that doesn't bother me as much as these business agents. They're one of the main things, as far as I'm concerned. They aren't trained and aren't in touch with the workers. They aren't bad people; they just don't know what it is like in the shop and on the road."

"I want to see them visit the shops and the night workers. I want to see them accountable to the executive board and the members. And I want to see the stewards trained so that they know the rules and laws and health and safety regulations."

## Incumbent garbage.

"And look what they come back with," Houghtaling flips a leaflet with the incumbents' response to TRT's campaign on the table. "Garbage. Trash from the gutter."

Bright red block letters proclaim: "The Truth About TRT & PROD." The anonymous (and obviously expensive) sheet claims that the TRT is a creature of PR-

OD, which is itself part of a grand conspiracy consisting of: "Wall Street foundations and lawyers; the liberal news media; the Kennedy machine in Washington; the FBI; Arnold Miller; Ed Sadlowski; Ralph Nader; congressional committees; a Justice Department 'Get Hoffa' unit under Bobby Kennedy which was most likely responsible for the murder of Jimmy Hoffa"—to mention only some.

The "truth" is at least laughable. Couple that caveman clumsiness with the recent TDU victory in Flint Local #332 and reform gains in Oklahoma City, Green Bay and Vancouver and you can understand why the TRT candidates and supporters were hopeful on the morning of the ballot counting.

But when I returned to the storefront that afternoon for the results, the greeting of: "We lost. We lost real bad, have a beer," shocked me and I was glad for the brew. Neither "Blue" nor Strohs nor styrofoam cups of coffee could wash the numbers away: the reform effort had failed.

"So what happened? And where do you go from here?" members of Local 406 were asked.

"I don't know," most answered. Chet Miles explained: "We have to meet to decide what to do now. Maybe the TRT will dissolve. Maybe it is somebody else's turn. You see, Western Michigan is a very conservative area. The influ-

ence of the Dutch Church—Reformed and Christian Reformed—is still strong here. People are individualistic and anti-union. Even working people and union members. We're still living in the 19th century here."

"And it's not just Michigan either. This whole country is the same. I mean look at Nixon. Back in '71 he puts on wage and price controls so wages go nowhere and the prices keep going up. People get mad. Then, just before the election he engineers the end of Vietnam, 'brings the boys home,' and takes credit for being a great peacemaker. So he wins the election."

"People don't have much of a memory anymore. We're out talking to people and they're agreeing with us. 'We need a change. We need new leadership.' Then the vote comes and we're killed. So the same guys are back to do the same stuff."

"And you have to remember the power of incumbents," added a listener. "They had access to the membership rolls; we didn't. They had business agents and stewards, a built-in organization that could deliver favors. And we couldn't get any press even though the papers and TV knew what we were doing. They had all our stuff, but since nobody was getting shot or anything, they ignored us. We had to get the word out by person-to-person wherever we could find Teamsters. Yeah, the insiders had a pat hand."

"And they fought a gutter campaign," Bud Houghtaling reminds the writer. "We talked issues. We stayed out of the gutter. I'm proud of the way we fought. And I'm proud of this 'horse and wheel' (Teamster insignia).

"We're not quitting either. Most of us will continue as TRT, individuals or with some other group. We been through this before and we came back. Look at Flint and Oklahoma. This thing is coming. It's happening all over."

Billy Joe Green, trucker, agreed with smiling eyes. "Next time," he said.

Tom Johnson is a Michigan writer.

# TDU wins

Continued from page 3.

police unit, intervened in the campaign.

"Joe Petrella was with them constantly," said Sebastian, who seemed outraged at the tenor of the incumbents' campaign: "They put a letter out to the members saying we were all violent, saying we wanted to destroy the union." Sebastian said there was red baiting; "but the membership didn't buy it. I suppose there are some socialists in TDU but there aren't any in the Flint local," he said.

In the aftermath of TDU's victory the incumbents have filed protests with area Joint Council #43, claiming TDU received employer contributions and bought votes. Sebastian dismissed these charges as "bull," and at the moment believes that he and his slate will take office in January.

(The officers of local 332 were unavailable for comment and did not return phone calls.)

Tom Young is a Chicago free-lance journalist.



## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## MEDIA

# Newspaper profits fuel Gannett's media empire

By Michael Massing

**E**VEN IN THE "GO-GO" company of its fellow media giants, Gannett Co., Inc., is distinguished by its aggressiveness. The Gannett newspaper chain now controls 77 daily newspapers, more than any other chain in the country, with a combined daily circulation of about three million. In 1977 alone it purchased 20 daily newspapers, including Speidel Newspapers, itself a sizable chain. In the last ten years Gannett's annual sales revenue has increased some 200 percent, to \$557 million. *Fortune* ranks it seventh among the country's largest 500 corporations in its return on investment to shareholders over the last decade.

But Gannett's performance in the future will dwarf anything it has done to date. When the company's announced merger with Combined Communications Corp., a \$228-million media conglomerate, is finalized early next year, Gannett will become an \$800 million-plus titan, moving ahead of Knight-Ridder into second place among chains in terms of revenues.

The \$400-million deal—the biggest in media history when it was announced last May—was termed a "marriage made in heaven" by Allen H. Neurath, Gannett president and chief executive officer. More telling, perhaps, is the description offered by Rep. Morris K. Udall, who called it a case of a "whale swallowing a whale."

The deal will increase the number of Gannett newspapers to 79 by giving the company control of CCC's two large holdings, the Cincinnati *Enquirer* and the Oakland *Tribune*. In the longer term, the infusion of money from CCC will provide Gannett more funds with which to chase the independent newspapers that have eluded it thus far. Gannett chairman Paul Miller forecasts the chain will increase to 100 papers "in the foreseeable future." John Morton, a financial analyst of the newspaper business, says that "even 100 isn't the limit."

Besides upping the ante in the newspaper game, the merger will greatly increase the presence of the Rochester-based company in other media. In 1977 Gannett derived 96.3 percent of its total revenues from newspapers, but the acquisition of CCC will make Gannett an instant power in the broadcast field.

The Phoenix-based CCC controls seven TV stations, located in such lucrative markets as Atlanta, Denver, Phoenix and Oklahoma City, as well as 13 radio stations. (Gannett plans to sell its sole TV station, WHEC in Rochester, in order to comply with the FCC provision that no one concern can control more than five VHF stations; it is now negotiating a \$27-million sale to the minority-controlled BEN, Inc.)

Gannett will also gain CCC's outdoor advertising (i.e., billboard) business, the second largest in the country. Then Gannett will control just under 4 percent of the nation's \$44 billion advertising market.

Gannett's multimedia expansion follows the example of its fellow newspaper chains. The New York Times Co., for instance, in addition to its daily newspapers and syndicated news service, owns numerous magazines (including *Us*), a TV and radio station, a book company, an information service and partial interest in

In one newspaper town, publishing a paper is a "license to steal forever," says Rupert Murdoch, N.Y. *Post* owner.

several newsprint companies. Harte-Hanks Newspapers became Harte-Hanks Communications in 1977, reflecting the chain's growing might in broadcasting (it now owns three VHF stations and nine radio stations). The Big Daddy of the chains in terms of revenues, Times-Mirror, with 1977 sales of \$1.14 billion, controls five newspapers, a book publishing house, newsprint and forest product operations, two TV stations and a cable television company.

## Monopoly profits.

These companies have been able to expand and diversify because their newspaper operations are so amazingly profitable. Gannett has made an art of buying dailies that serve medium-sized, one-newspaper towns, like Salem, Ore., Monroe, La., and Binghamton, N.Y., where advertising revenues are to be had for the asking. In such monopoly towns—now over 97 percent of all cities that have dailies—publishing a newspaper is "a license to steal money forever," in the words of Rupert Murdoch, uninhibited publisher of the *New York Post*.

That helps explain why Gannett was willing to pay \$11.7 million—many times book value—for the Santa Fe *New Mexican*, which, while having a circulation of only 18,000, faces no competition. And why it coughed up \$60 million in cash to DuPont earlier this year for two jointly-owned Wilmington, Del., papers. As noted by the Gannett executive named to manage the Wilmington papers, they were, and are, "the only game in town," or, more accurately, in the state, since Delaware has no other daily newspapers or any local TV stations.

Independent newspaper owners find it hard to resist such sums. Most of them are unable to afford the costly automated hardware that has become essential to efficient production. Besides, independent papers, for the most part family-owned, often must be sold off when the owner dies, to meet heavy estate taxes.

Chains have been acquiring newspapers at a rate of 55 per year over the last five years, and only some 650 of the nation's 1,759 dailies remain independent. As more newspapers are sold off, concentration in the industry grows. The 25 largest newspaper groups now control 53 percent of daily national circulation; the four

largest account for a full 20 percent.

Ben Bagdikian, a media critic who now teaches at the University of California, Berkeley, predicted recently that "at the present rate of concentration, we can expect that in less than 20 years almost every daily paper in the country will be owned by about ten corporations."

## Controlling the content.

The effect such concentrated ownership has on the final editorial product is a much more complex matter than it was in the days of William Randolph Hearst, who dictated to his editors what news to headline and what to bury.

Certainly such autocratic behavior still occurs. Consider the case of the Panax Corp., publisher of eight daily newspapers, which last year directed its papers to feature two articles criticizing President Carter; when two editors in Michigan refused, they were fired.

That episode earned Panax an ocean of bad publicity—which is precisely why smoothly-run chains like Gannett (which regularly plugs its professionalism in corporate ads) take care not to be too direct in exercising editorial control over their papers.

Of greater significance today is the effect chain ownership can have on the quality of a newspaper. In some cases the relationship is relatively benevolent—for example, Knight-Ridder's substantial investment in the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, now a much better newspaper than it was when the chain acquired it in 1969. But in the case of other chains, including Gannett, the judgment must be less charitable.

In the course of chalking up an impressive earnings record (highlighted by a 1977 rate of return of 19.2 percent, one of the highest in the industry), Gannett has often preferred merely to repackaging a paper when it is floundering, rather than invest the resources necessary to improve its editorial content. The fact that only five of Gannett's 77 papers face any daily newspaper competition at all helps explain why the company rarely finds it necessary to postpone its profit-taking.

## Controlling the workers.

Gannett executives are also shrewd when dealing with reporters, editors, officer personnel and craft workers, organized or not. "As far as management-union

## How did Gannett become one of the big wheels of Fortune?

By delivering Good newspapers And good financial news. According to *Fortune* Magazine's latest "500" issue, Gannett ranked 7th among 500 U.S. corporations in its return on investment to its shareholders over a 10-year period. Now, on our 11th anniversary as a public company, we'd like to share Gannett's growth history. Since going public in 1967, we've increased our earnings every quarter. No down quarters even in recessionary cycles. In that same period, we've gone from \$184 million in sales, increased earnings per share from \$2.60 to \$2.60, improved our dividends from 22¢ to \$1.40 and enlarged our group of daily newspapers from 28 to 78.

Delivering exceptional financial results didn't just happen. First, Gannett set out to acquire newspapers in healthy, growing middle-class markets. In sound communities as different as Burlington and Boise, Fort Collins and Fort Lee, and San Bernardino and Santa Fe, today, in 30 states, in the U.S. territories of Guam, we serve over 3 million reader families. We're the numerically largest and geographically most widespread newspaper group in the country. And, we plan to extend our successful acquisition program. Our advertising revenue—up 206% in 10 years—reflects advertiser confidence resulting from our reach (and sell) of 211 million readers—up 211% in 10 years—good news resulting from newspapers which serve the varied wants and needs of their readers and their communities.

Most important, Gannett delivers an indispensable commodity—locally edited, community-minded, reader-perhaps whose reports, photographs, Pulitzer Prizes in Gannett's history, and good local news are the secrets of Gannett's success. To learn more about the exciting America's newspapers, write for your free copy of "Newspapers: Your Freedom Wrapper," Care of Gannett Co., Inc., Rochester, New York 14604.

**Gannett**

Gannett has announced a merger with Combined Communications Corporation, a Phoenix-based diversified media company with seven television stations, 13 radio stations, and newspaper facilities in 11 U.S. states and in major Canadian cities.

Merger with a media conglomerate is Gannett's latest secret of success.

relations are concerned, Gannett is very tough," says David Eisen, information director at the Newspaper Guild in Washington. "It tries to undermine the guild and other unions whenever it can." Gannett, he says, "resists contract improvements in any way it can."

It also has conducted what Eisen calls "high-gear" anti-guild campaigns, complete with slick brochures arguing against unionization—often with success. For example, the guild won an election in Salem, Ore., shortly before Gannett bought the two papers there in 1974. Soon after the acquisition, Gannett won a decertification election; on a subsequent ballot the guild lost. And it hasn't been back since. And a 1976 strike by crafts unions at the *Courier-News* in Bridgewater, N.J., was broken when Gannett brought in permanent replacements for striking pressmen.

Nor is the situation much better at Gannett papers that do have a guild or crafts unions. In Rochester, the editorial staff at the *Democrat and Chronicle* and at the *Times-Union* have been unable to agree on a contract with Gannett since 1968; the pay increases granted there since have been meager. A guild member at one of Gannett's papers in Rockford, Ill., says the company runs the newsroom like a "sweatshop," playing a "subtle game" of "using one person against another" through promotion and hiring practices.

Gannett has been in firm command in Rockford since the end of a grueling 71-day strike in 1970, when it sent in "hatchet men" to "tighten things up," as a guild member puts it. One editor who had worked at the paper for over 30 years was given an hour to clean out his desk and be gone. The guild at Rockford, meanwhile, has weakened, especially since the press room was automated three years ago.

Gannett, like other chains, has been able to invoke the First Amendment for protection. While the government limits the number of television and radio stations any one company can control, on the grounds that the airwaves are a scarce national resource, no such restriction has been set for newspapers, which at present are much more expensive to outfit than TV stations and thus are more "scarce." Especially since passage of the Newspaper Preservation Act in 1970, which made it

Continued on next page



# Gannett empire

Continued from page 19.

legal for two newspapers in the same market to share printing facilities, the Justice Department has shown little sensitivity to how newspaper acquisitions impinge on the public interest.

## Legal actions.

Last spring Rep. Mo Udall introduced an Independent Local Newspaper bill. The bill would allow the owner of an independent newspaper, or of an intrastate chain, to place as much as 50 percent of his newspaper earning into a trust fund, in anticipation of estate taxes. The bill would also allow an extension of up to 15 years for the payment of such taxes.

Udall hopes the measure, to be resubmitted in 1979, will enable the remaining independent dailies to resist the temptation to sell out to chains. But even if the bill passes—and its prospects are rated as not good—its impact would probably be limited.

"If it had been passed ten years ago, perhaps it would have had some effect," says James N. Rosse, an economics professor at Stanford. Now, Rosse says, aside from the fact that much of the acquisition process has already run its course, the bill would do little to rectify other factors that contribute to the demise of independents, among them their inability to exploit new technology effectively.

Potentially more important than Udall's tax measure is his companion Competi-

tion Review Bill. This would establish a commission to undertake a three-year study of concentration in a number of U.S. industries, including newspapers. With mergers like the one between Gannett and CCC at stake, possible remedies for concentration in the press will have to address broad antitrust questions.

For instance, the new, enlarged Gannett will be operating television station KBTX in Denver, the only ABC affiliate that can be picked up 50 miles away in Fort Collins, where Gannett also publishes the *Coloradoan*. Gannett's newspaper in San Bernadino, Calif., the *Sun-Telegram*, serves a community that is part of the Los Angeles market—where Gannett will also operate KHS-AM-FM radio.

The Federal Trade Commission plans to address such forms of concentration at a symposium on the communications industry to be held in Washington on Dec. 14-15. The conference could mark the first step in an FTC effort to promote competition in the media, though any possible action is probably years away.

Meanwhile, the newspaper business, and the media industry in general, will undoubtedly become even more centralized. The reign of the Gannett-Combined Communications deal as the potentially biggest media merger ever was short. In early October, General Electric announced it would acquire the Cox Broadcasting Co. for a minimum \$440 million.

Michael Massing is a free-lance writer on media issues.



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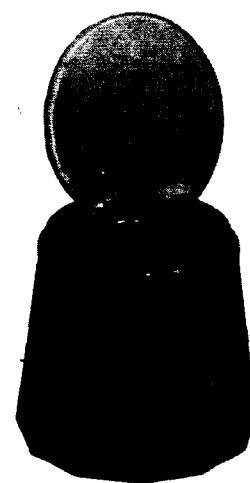
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## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT



## ROCK

## New group makes honest stand

**DIRE STRAITS**  
(Warner Bros.)

The first album by the British band Dire Straits (called *Dire Straits*) is the most exciting debut I've heard all year. The album has been released here without much publicity from the group's record company, Warner Bros. Lacking a 300-pound singer or industrial jumpsuit costumes, it may be hard for Dire Straits to attract attention. But those who listen will find some truly rewarding music.

Basically a blues band, but with obvious strong influences from Bob Dylan, J.J. Cale, and Graham Parker, Dire Straits is bucking dominant trends in rock today.

They avoid the excessive soaring and melodramatic flash favored by so many. But where a lot of New Wave groups go in for power chords to build a wall of sound, the guitar work of band leader Mark Knopfler is strikingly compact. His low-key but fast-paced style is both disarming and provocative at the same time.

And the relatively sparse production by Muff Winwood (Stevie's brother and former bassist with the Spencer Davis Group) also contrasts with the lush, multi-layered sound most groups use. The emphasis here is on razor-sharp precision.

Dire Straits first came to popular attention in Great Britain about a year ago. They sent a demo tape to Charlie Gillett, author of one of the best rock histories, *The Sound of the City*. Gillett liked the group and played their songs on his Radio London show. They were an immediate success and within a short time toured the country with New York's Talking Heads and signed a recording contract.

Although the rest of the band members (David Knopfler, rhythm guitar; John Illsey, bass; and Pick Withers, drums) provide solid support, Mark Knopfler is the major creative force and the acknowledged leader of Dire Straits.

Born in Scotland and raised in Newcastle, the 28-year-old Knopfler had been a newspaper reporter and teacher of English at a tech-

nical college in London before forming the group only a year and a half ago. While Knopfler has played guitar for years and obviously benefited from a close study of blues and R&B, Dire Straits is his first band.

#### Not just another British blues band.

Despite the obvious influences, it would be a mistake to see Dire Straits as merely another British blues band cranking out new, fired-up versions of old blues standards. First of all, Knopfler's middle-tempo songs are much more taut and subdued than the kind of blues/rock made most popular by Eric Clapton when he was in Cream.

Equally important, as a lyricist Knopfler is first-rate. On songs such as "Wild West End" and "Lions" he shows that he has no equal, save for Graham Parker, as a chronicler of the isolation and torment of urban life in Britain. And the way Knopfler handles love in the city is distinctively tough.

Consider the contrast between the Straits' "Down to the Waterline" and Van Morrison's "Brown Eyed Girl." For Morrison, the remembrance of the loves of youth is joyful, a story to be told with sprightly music and nostalgic lyrics about "laughin' and a' runnin', skippin' and a' jumpin'." As Knopfler tells it, however, the song begins with the eerie sound of a foghorn, and is punctuated by hesitating spurts of guitar; his lyrics speak of quaysides, darkened doorways, and the rude flashlights of the police.

The key elements in the Strait style can be seen in their *tour de force*, "Sultans of Swing." Written and sung by Mark Knopfler, as is all of the band's material, the song evokes a visit to a small club in south London to hear an unacclaimed Creole band. It is also an understated criticism of the intolerance rock audiences have for other types of music.

Built upon an immediately compelling and memorable hook, "Sultans" is continually punctuated by stinging short phrases from Knopfler's guitar. His almost agonizing restraint builds tremendous tension. When Knopf-

ler finally does take a break in the middle and then at the end of the song, they are striking both in their fluidity and their economy and provide the needed release.

Knopfler's vocal style is remarkably similar to his guitar work. Spitting out the words in a singing/talking manner reminiscent of Dylan on "Like A Rolling Stone," here too Knopfler is the epitome of restraint. Unlike many British blues singers, Knopfler doesn't try to sound as if he just arrived from the Mississippi Delta. Nor does he act as if his soul was bearing all of the blues in human history. Rather, his clipped and rather gruff vocals come across as both original and natural.

Next to "Sultans of Swing" perhaps the best song on the album is "In the Gallery," a bitter denunciation of the people who control the art world. The story concerns an artist friend who died in obscurity, his talent never recognized by the official certifiers of talent:

*Some people have got to paint and draw*

*Harry had to work in clay and stone*

*Like the waves coming to the shore*

*It was in his blood and in his bones*

*Ignored by all the trendy boys in London and in Leeds*

*He might as well have been making toys or strings of beads*

*He could not be in the gallery*

As in the case of acting, in music anger is probably the easiest emotion to express—all you have to do is pound your guitar and scream. What makes Knopfler so good is his ability, shown in both his singing and guitar playing on "In the Gallery," to express a rage that is barely remaining beneath the surface, getting ready to explode.

Dire Straits' integrity distinguishes them from most other groups. They have a willingness to take their own road at their own speed, regardless of whether their brand of blues is in style at a particular moment.

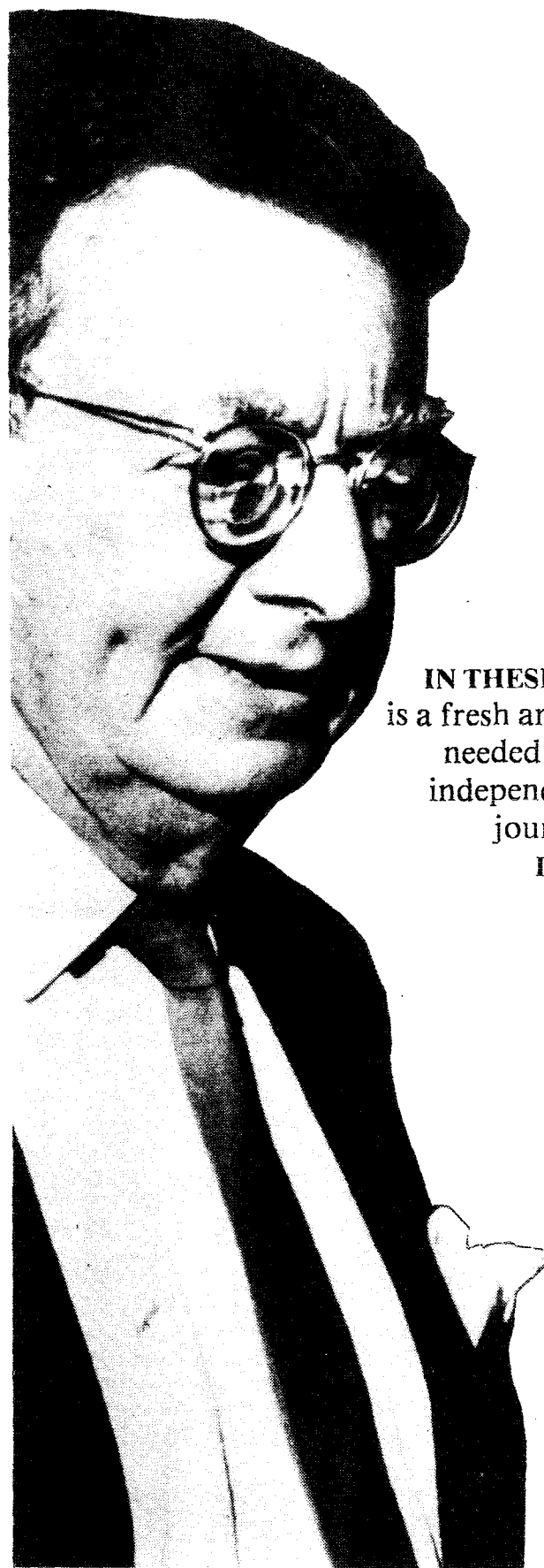
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# Short Notice



Steve Martin

## Records

### A WILD AND CRAZY GUY

Steve Martin (Warner Bros.) America's current comedy king sets up a joke by telling a story on a commonplace theme, sounding extremely normal. The kicker is the way the story line sharply becomes wild and crazy. One would think there would be limits to the number of times Martin could get away with this, but so far his inventiveness continues to surprise and amuse. Like *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, Martin is best parodying television and advertising; unlike *MH, MH*, Martin is funny. So is the \$8.98 list price.

bd

### VIS A VIS

Fotomaker (Atlantic Records) A pleasant surprise. Formed out of the rhythm section of the Raspberries and the guitarist of the Raspberries, Fotomaker has the knack of its predecessors for making solid and tuneful, though not particularly memorable, rock.

bd

### 78 IN THE SHADE

Small Faces (Atlantic Records) Without Ron Wood, Ronnie Lane or Rod Stewart, who have all been in this band at one time or another, there's not much left. Just going through the motions.

bd

### PLAYIN' TO WIN

The Outlaws (Arista Records) Another of the seemingly endless horde of three-guitar boogie bands from the South. They tour endlessly and sell a bunch of records. Lots of energy, but very little taste.

bd



Alice Cooper

### FROM THE INSIDE

Alice Cooper (Warner Bros.) Forget the hype about this being Alice's cogitations on his bout with alcoholism; Bernie Taupin (Elton John's ex-collaborator) wrote the lyrics for this stagey, innocuous "concept" album. Plus points for guitarist Dick Wagner, Cooper's final remaining touchstone to rock'n'roll spirit, but the best real music "from the inside" is that by Iggy Pop.

cb

### OL' BLUE SUEDE'S BACK

Carl Perkins (Jet) Hardly some revivalist's shot at

'50s rock, this marks the return in earnest of Perkins, a Sun label rockabilly star and author of numerous classic tunes. He's too old to pose as the rebel he was in '58, but little else sets this apart from his previous work. That quirky vocal sound, slappin' bass and savage beat withstand the improved record quality. Included is "Blue Suede Shoes" along with songs by Hank Williams, Gene Vincent and Chuck Willis.

cb

### STEPPING STONES—LIVE AT THE VILLAGE VANGUARD

Woody Shaw (Columbia) Woody Shaw's trumpet skills have been apparent for years. But this live follow-up to his brilliant *Rosewood* lp confirms his stature as an important group leader. His sextet cooks up brisk and compelling hard-bop; harmonizing brightly in the ensemble choruses, offering clean, concise solos in rapid-fire exchanges.

dr

### APOGEE

Pete Christlieb-Warne Marsh Quintet (Warner Brothers) Two saxophonists with contrasting styles romp through a series of up-tempo bebop tunes. A good-natured throwback to the classic tenor battles of the late '50s given a shimmering veneer by producers Becker and Fagan (aka Steely Dan).

dr

### DUET

Lester Bowie, Phillip Wilson (Improvising Artists) A must for fans of trumpet, jazz duets, or the avant-garde. Bowie can twist more sounds and feelings out of his horn than most musicians can imagine. Here he darts through and stretches out over percussionist Wilson's dynamic manipulations of time and space.

dr

### NONAAH

Roscoe Mitchell (Nessa) A comprehensive introduction to the sax giant of the Art Ensemble of Chicago, featuring Mitchell's alto in solo concert, duets and

small groups. The fragmented motifs, disjointed phrases and startling bursts of sound are an acquired taste, but the masterfully crafted four-saxophone version of the title composition must be heard by anyone interested in the "new music."

dr

### KINGS OF MALI

Chico Freeman (India Navigation) The young reed player from the pioneering Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians fronts a vigorous quintet



Woody Shaw

with mixed results. His strong sax playing is diluted in the rambling compositions on side one, but on side two, with Freeman on flute, the musicians weave a hypnotic tapestry of African polyrhythms and modal harmonic lines.

dr

### ALTO MADNESS

Richie Cole (Muse) Straight-ahead, lyrical bebop; alto saxophonist Richie Cole's unabashed enthusiasm and soaring, melodic solos make this a joyful celebration.

dr

### OTELLO (RCA)

OTELLO (London) The nearly simultaneous appearance of two new recordings of Verdi's *Otello* leaves potential buyers in a quandary. Which to buy: the RCA set with James Levine conducting a cast led by Placido Domingo, Renata Scotto and Sherrill Milnes; or the London set with Sir Georg Solti leading Carlo Cossutta, Margaret Price and Gabriel Bacquier?

Isn't it strange that two major companies would release important new versions of the same work at the same time, instead of delving into undiscovered regions to attract attention (and foil competition) with something new and

different? No. This kind of double releasing happens all the time, especially in standard repertory. What probably happened here was that Solti wanted to record an *Otello*, so London said okay; and Domingo wanted to put his interpretation of the title role of the opera onto the shelves, and secured RCA's blessing.

The tenor is the king in one while the conductor reigns in the other. Both performances are so good that the buyer faces a no-lose situation. Make a decision on the basis of whether you want a tremendous *Otello* (Domingo) with a rather heavy sounding Desdemona (Scotto) and a good accompanying force, or a less brilliant Moor (Cossutta) with a heart-melting Desdemona (Price) and stunning work by Solti and the Vienna Philharmonic.

km

### ZOMBIE

Fela and Afrika 70 (Mercury) Feb. 18, 1977, was not a routine day for the Nigerian armed forces. Soldiers burned down, on orders, the house of the nation's most famous musician, Fela Anikulapo Kuti, apparently because of the flamboyant musicians latest album. *Zombie* is Fela's tribute to the enlisted man and a biting satire of military rule in Nigeria,



Richie Cole

now 12 years old. *Zombie* combines jazz, rock and African rhythms with radical lyrics and pidgin English. The Nigerian public loved the album. The military government found it, well, incendiary. Fela is now banned from public performance in Nigeria.

mm

Contributors: Bruce Dancis, Cary Baker, Derk Richardson, Karen Monson, Mac Margolis.

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## TELEVISION

## TV's schlock master tries new schemes to rescue NBC

By Al Auster

When Fred Silverman was appointed NBC president last January, the *New York Times* made it page-one news, and RCA stock (NBC's parent company) went soaring on hopes that Silverman would soon have the network number one in the TV ratings race.

Industry insiders jokingly predicted that the purveyor of jiggle shows would turn the nation's oldest network into its first X-rated one. Others expressed doubts about whether the man who gave American culture *Happy Days* and *Charlie's Angels* had the statesmanlike abilities necessary for his new position.

But in the six months that Silverman has been in charge at NBC he hasn't fonzified the network or even committed one political faux pas. He has a plan for NBC's recovery—one less simplistic than he has been given credit for, but perhaps more chancy than his former successes as well.

Silverman's plan depends on NBC's rights to the 1980 Moscow Olympics. His scenario is to catapult NBC into the second slot by the end of 1979, and then to drive NBC home first, based up-

on the programming strength of the Olympics.

It also depends on the performance of Silverman's hand-picked successor to Julian Goodman as NBC's chairperson. His choice was Jane Cahill Pfeiffer, a 56-year-old former IBM vice president and Jimmy Carter's first choice for Secretary of Commerce. Pfeiffer was recently in Peking as a consultant in trade negotiations between the Chinese and RCA.

Her political expertise and government connections—as a White House fellow in the Johnson administration she worked closely with Cyrus Vance and George Ball—will make up for any skills Silverman lacks. Her appointment also cements an alliance between RCA and IBM (Pfeiffer's husband David is an IBM senior vice president). This tie gives IBM a head start in the industry on "information delivery" systems—the marriage of computers to TV—and is the envy of rivals like ITT, Xerox and AT&T.

## Less Schlock?

Silverman's success, of course, will still depend largely on his talents as a programmer. Moments after he took over at NBC he assured a closed-circuit audience of



Everyone's raising eyebrows as Fred Silverman (right) revamps NBC's programming; *DIFF'RENT STROKES* (left, the program's Gary Arnold) is not the answer.

NBC affiliates of his commitment to quality programming. He promptly ordered NBC news and public affairs to gear up production of documentaries. He included the medical documentary series *Lifeline* in the NBC fall lineup, and cancelled an already scheduled jiggle show called *Rollergirls*.

Moving NBC up in the ratings, though, is harder than cleaning up Silverman's image. His programming style depends on strong series. But the NBC method traditionally emphasized specials, and its programs were weak. Of the nine new NBC shows this fall, two have already been cancelled (*W.E.B.* and *The Waverly Wonders*) while the rest (*Project UFO*, *The Capra Mysteries*, *Sword of Justice*, *Grandpa Goes to Washington*, *Who's Watching the Kids*

and *The Dick Clark Show*) are slumbering somewhere at the back of the ratings pack. In fact the only thing that's kept NBC from a third-place ratings finish so far this season was its rights to the World Series.

Silverman and chief programmer Paul Klein have decided to stick with what they have through the Superbowl (which NBC has the rights to), and specials like the eight-part mini-series *Back Stairs at the White House* and the six-part TV version of *From Here to Eternity*. Then in February the Silverman era will truly begin.

Although NBC is keeping secret the final version of its schedule, there are straws in the wind. For instance, the Silverman replacement for Joe Namath's fumbled series attempt, *The Waverly Wonders*, is a Norman Lear sit-

com called *Diff'rent Strokes*. It's about a Park Avenue plutocrat, Conrad Bain (*Maude*) who adopts the two Harlem-bred orphans of his deceased black housekeeper. The show is ghoulishly reminiscent of *Chico and the Man*, even occupying the same time slot.

Silverman has also ordered a record 60 pilots for the NBC season and the Fall '79 schedule. A sample of the candidates suggests the tone of programming.

*Brothers and Sisters* is the NBC entry in the network race to come up with a series based on *National Lampoon's Animal House*. In *The Love Song of Fred and Carrie*, a white man and a black woman, both widowed, meet and fall in love. (Producers love this black-white version of *Bridget and Bernie* because they think the couple is too old to touch.) *IFR* is Institute for Retaliation, a quasi-government outfit with unlimited funds that helps crime victims get revenge. *Sweepstakes* follows million dollar prizewinners and how the prize affects their lives.

Out of these and as many more, Silverman hopes for just one hit. Then, given his ability to turn dross into gold (at CBS he used *All in the Family* to spin off *Maude*, *The Jeffersons* and *Good Times*), he could possibly keep the audience tuned in long enough for the Moscow Olympics to arrive.

Fred Silverman was supposed to be the master of schlock, America's most vulgar tastemaker. And he still may be. But in the first few months of his NBC presidency he hasn't yet cheapened the station's look. He also has not yet brought NBC top-dog success. And the sacrifice of *Rollergirls* may have been in vain, especially if political changes wipe out the Moscow Olympics. ■

Al Auster is an editor of *Cineaste*.

By Karen Monson

*Paradise Lost*, the latest, largest and most impressive work of the controversial Polish composer Krzysztof Penderecki, adapted from the epic poem of John Milton, was unveiled by Chicago's Lyric Opera two weeks ago in the Civic Opera House. It was the most important premiere of a European opera in America since 1921, when Serge Prokofiev's *The Love for Three Oranges* was given its first performances, also in Chicago.

There were problems in *Paradise* from the start. The announcement six years ago that Lyric Opera would commission Penderecki to write a work in celebration of the American Bicentennial raised hackles of native composers and musical patriots; and the jokes ran clever and quick when it was disclosed that the choice of subject to convey the spirit of '76 was Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

Then, early in the Bicentennial year, *Paradise Lost* became "Paradise postponed" when Penderecki confessed that his opus would be indefinitely delayed; the company rescheduled Penderecki's work for the end of its 1978 season.

With the hour of the premiere drawing dangerously near, sets arrived that were structurally unsound or misfitted to the Chicago stage, and singers and orchestra learned their lines from pages on which the ink had had no chance to dry. The budget, officially admitted to be in the area of \$500,000, is rumored to have passed the \$1 million mark. One week before the premiere, the composer unceremoniously fired the director, Virginia Puccher, and replaced him with Igal Perry, who had previously served as an

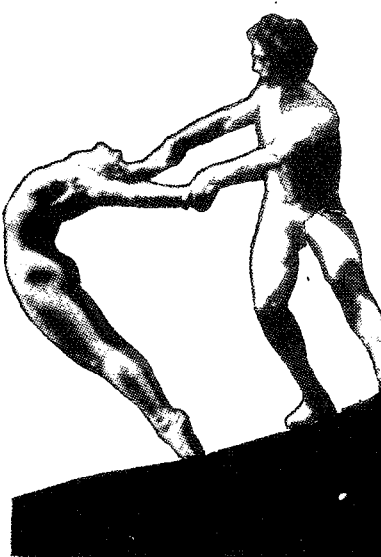
assistant to choreographer John Butler.

But when the curtain finally went up on the two-act, three-and-one-half-hour opus (down from the projected four-plus hours), both Penderecki and Lyric Opera had a product of which they could be proud. The English libretto, first drafted by the distinguished British dramatist Christopher Fry (*The Lady's Not for Burning*, as well as the screen treatments for *Ben Hur* and *The Bible*), was fashioned to its final proportions with the aid of Penderecki and Sam Wanamaker. To serve operatic purposes, it must be a modest distillation of Milton's masterwork, but it remains impressively faithful to the spirit of the poem, and is blessedly human and almost unpretentious.

The composer will not call *Paradise Lost* an opera, but names it instead a *sacra rappresentazione*, a sacred allegory that is an oratorio and that will welcome future unstaged concert performances. Yet the piece is theatrical; its musical idiom is practically soupy, post-Wagnerian (and literally from Wagner in a blatant "Lohengrin" quotation at the moment when God creates the swan), and brilliantly colored, especially in the instrumental writing.

Penderecki has not completely abandoned his earlier, defiantly

modern techniques, but he has used them for moments of peppy effect (choral hisses, for ex-



Dancers double for singers Adam and Eve (left); composer Krzysztof Penderecki (right).

ample) in a very traditional, even romantic base. *Paradise Lost* begins on a B-flat and ends in loud, self-congratulatory D Major; in between, C Major rings proud and clear.

There are musical weaknesses—lively rhythms and memorable melodies (even in the big arias and love duets) are not Penderecki's fortes. Yet while a witness may be mildly aware that the music is stagnating, a combination of elegance and grandeur carries through the score, and gives it unity.

And the Chicago presentation,

despite all of the backstage backstabbing and hassling, is magnificent. With Lyric Opera's 100-voice chorus (superbly trained for this big occasion by Robert Page) stacked into ceiling-high metal cages on the far sides of the stage, heaven is represented by a giant, stunningly reflective, starry dome, while the dark realms of Satan are topped by an ominously skeletal, similarly round shell. Adam (William Stone) and Eve (Ellen Shade), in white robes before the fall and blood-red ones thereafter, have their doubles in dancers (Dennis Wayne and Nancy Thuesen),

whose presence has been ingeniously integrated into the thread of the drama.

Bruno Bartoletti conducted the Chicago performance with authority, but Penderecki himself will be on the podium when *Paradise* opens in Milan on Jan. 23. Productions of the work are already projected for opera houses in Vienna, Berlin and Stuttgart, and WFMT in Chicago broadcasted the opera to 14 different countries within 48 hours of its world premiere.

Karen Monson is a music critic in Chicago.

## OPERA

## Bicentennial opera premieres at last





# Racism— Is It Killing Basket- Ball?

Twenty years ago, basketball was a way of life in Brooklyn's Irish and Jewish neighborhoods. But you don't see white kids on the schoolyard courts anymore.

By Mark Naison

Photo by Jon Randolph



**D**uring the last two years, the National Basketball Association has suffered a considerable decline in attendance and its television audience. Although the league is well-balanced and filled with exciting and artistic performers, the game seems to have lost the mass appeal that once led its promoters to call it the "sport of the '70s."

Last year's playoff series between the Washington Bullets and the Seattle Supersonics, one of the best-played contests in the league's history, had lower ratings than such earth-shaking sports events as professional golf tournaments and ABC's Wide World of Sports, and this year there are NBA teams with winning records who are averaging less than 6,000 fans at the home contests.

Though the media rarely mentions it, I'm convinced that racism has a good deal to do with the decline in attendance. The NBA is now nearly 80 percent black and we may be seeing something like the "tipping" effect that occurs in many neighborhoods and schools when they become predominantly black, and whites abandon them *en masse*. If the locker room conversations friends and I have heard are any indication, white former partisans of the sport have come to see basketball as a black preserve, where exhibitionist values of street ball reign supreme at the expense of team play and defense. They are transferring their loyalty to other sports—particularly baseball, hockey and soccer—in which blacks play a lesser role.

What's most disturbing is that this hostility to black ball players often bears little relation to the reality of play in the NBA. While the Lloyd Freese of the league

give substance to negative stereotypes of the "bad dude" from the ghetto, the majority of black ball players in the NBA—the Wes Unselds, the Kareem Jabbars, the Marvin Websters, the John Lucases—are practitioners of the same kind of disciplined team play that disgruntled white fans claim to advocate.

No two teams played better fundamental basketball than the Supersonics and the Bullets did last year, yet the TV audience was smaller than that of any playoff series in recent years because there was no white "superstar" like Bill Walton, Rick Barry, or Dave Cowens to attract white fan interest and because whites played a relatively minor role on both teams.

Unless there's a dramatic improvement in the racial climate in the country, I don't see pro-basketball making a comeback. Not only are fewer whites watching basketball, but far fewer of them are playing the game.

## No whites on court.

One of the first things I noticed when I moved back to Brooklyn after a 14-year absence was that white kids in the borough have stopped playing basketball competitively. There is hardly a park or schoolyard in all of Brooklyn where a group of white teenagers or pre-teens can be seen congregating in large numbers around a basketball court and playing ball on week-ends from dawn to dusk.

White working class and middle class male kids are as sports-minded as ever, but their energies seem to be directed into baseball, football and hockey. Basketball has been *conceded* to the black community, and most white kids regard it with

indifference or contempt.

Almost no whites are on basketball teams in New York City public high schools; and even parochial teams, once a showcase of white schoolyard talent, have become predominantly black. The Jewish center and church leagues that once flourished in ethnic neighborhoods have gone by the wayside, in stark contrast to crowded church and community center games in almost every black neighborhood. Even if a white kid *wants* to play top-flight basketball, the only way he can get decent competition is by going to a black neighborhood.

College coaches in the New York area speak openly of the racial distribution of talent in their sport. "There are almost no good white ball players coming out of New York City," Fordham coach Tom Penders told one of my classes. "If you're looking for players, you have to go to the black neighborhoods."

## Once a way of life.

This is an extraordinary change from the time when I was growing up. Twenty years ago, basketball was a way of life in Brooklyn's Irish and Jewish neighborhoods, the sport in which every boy with athletic ability hoped to make his mark.

Schoolyard courts were always crowded and each schoolyard had its own tradition to which the newcomer was quickly initiated. Even at ten or 11, I was conscious of the people from my schoolyard who became high school and college stars, and dared to dream that I would follow in their footsteps. I also heard the tales of those with equal talent who fell by the wayside—who gambled, who fought with coaches, who went away to join the army—and I kept a careful distance from the neighborhood bookies and gamblers who hung around the local luncheonette.

As an adolescent, my love of the game was stirred by personal contact with people who were "living legends," carriers of a long tradition of basketball greatness. At family gatherings, I sat at the foot of Cousin Mac Hodesblatt, a former professional ball player who was the coach of Thomas Jefferson High, and heard him regale us with tales of the future stars he was coaching.

I bought athletic equipment at the sporting goods store owned by Red Sarachek, another former pro who was a highly respected referee, and later a college coach. And I learned basketball technique at the local Jewish center from Jamie Moskowitz, another former great player who was the head coach at James Madison High.

Although I never played high school ball, I survived the first cut on my college freshman team, and easily outplayed people from prep schools and small towns who had been stars on their respective teams. Other kids from New York at the school had similar experiences. My friends and I knew—without ever thinking of race—that New York school yards produced some of the best players in the country, and we were proud to be part of that tradition, even though we would not be the ones to forge the legends and make the headlines.

## Rusty hoops.

This whole culture has almost vanished from the white neighborhoods of the city and it fills me with sadness. Some of the change can be blamed on upward mobility. The Jewish and Irish families who have moved into the middle class or the suburbs can now offer their kids tennis courts, hockey rinks, swimming pools and well-kept grass soccer, football and baseball fields as an outlet for their athletic energies. The cement and asphalt basketball court that dominated our athletic horizons seems barren and uninviting to kids who have so many choices.

But that's not the whole story. There is still a sizeable white working class left in the city, with recreational facilities no better than the ones we had (and possibly worse because of cutbacks in city services), but their kids are playing roller hockey and touch football in the schoolyards we used for basketball.

The empty hoops, rusting and unused, stand as a monument to a sports culture that disappeared, and as testimony to the power of race hatred to influence as innocent a thing as the games people play. ■